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MAHMUT the TURKISH SPY.



# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

## A TURKISH SPY,

*Who Lived Five-and-Forty Years Undiscovered at*

P A R I S;

Giving an Impartial Account to the Divan at Constantinople of the most Remarkable Transactions of Europe, and discovering several Intrigues and Secrets of the Christian Courts, (especially of that of France) from the Year 1637 to the Year 1682.

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*Written originally in Arabic, Translated into Italian, and from thence into English.*

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VOLUME FIRST.

A NEW EDITION.

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1801.



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## GENERAL PREFACE.

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**B**ESIDES the Prefaces already affixed to each single volume of these Letters, which contain particular answers to the objections and cavils of some, with solutions of the scruples and doubts made by others; as likewise critical explanations of passages, seeming obscure to all; in the English translation of our Spy, it is thought necessary to prefix something more by way of general preface, not so much regarding the translation, as the seeming original abruptness and obscurity of our Arabian author himself in some places, with his frequent change of subjects, his digressions and startings from matter of fact, the then present wars, transactions, and intrigues of Christian courts, states, and kingdoms (for which he was chiefly sent to Paris), and his immethodical falling upon philosophical, divine, and moral contemplations, and even to ancient obsolete histories, which some think altogether foreign to his business.

That the ingenuous reader, therefore, may not henceforward be left in the dark as to any thing ex-

hibited in the whole series of these letters, it will not be amiss to begin regularly at the first volume, and say something of the wars in which our Spy found several nations of Europe engaged at his first coming to Paris, especially France, Spain, and the Empire.

After the barbarous regicide of Henry the Great, the name and malice of what they call the Holy League, seemed to be quite extinguished, as if that deplorable tragedy had fully satisfied the cruel and bitter zeal of the factious catholics. France seemed to enjoy a serene quiet and halcyon-days from the year 1610 to 1614; fortune smiling on the greener years of Lewis XIII. as loath to disturb and ruffle the tender passions of the royal child with the harsh sound of war, foreseeing that he would quickly have enough of that, even in his early youth, before he could write man, unless he had been a king.

During this minority of his, the guardianship of him, and the regency of the kingdom, were committed to the queen-mother, Mary de Medicis, daughter to the Great Duke of Tuscany. This princess had brought into France a favourite of hers, a Florentine by birth and extraction, whom she exalted afterwards to great dignities, procuring him to be made a marshal of the kingdom, and to be invested with so exorbitant a power at the court, that the princes of the blood, with the other grandees of France, began to look with an ill eye on him, being quite disgusted at the too portentous authority of a stranger.

Therefore, in the year 1614, they openly showed

their discontent, by taking up arms, raising seditious tumults and insurrections, which lasted till the year 1616, at which time the king was married to Ann the daughter of Philip III. King of Spain, whilst an interchangeable match was made between the young Prince of Spain, son to the said Philip, and Elizabeth, sister to Lewis XIII. Thus, these two potent monarchs bound themselves to each other (as the world judged), in stricter obligations of peace and friendship, by the sacred bonds of matrimony, and a reciprocal union of their blood; which was also accompanied with the blessing of an universal domestic tranquillity, and cessation from civil broils in France; Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Conde, and the rest of the confederate princes being reconciled, in all outward appearance, to the king their sovereign. But, on a sudden, new jealousies arising, about the beginning of September 1616, the Prince of Conde was seized and clapped up, and declarations of war published against the princes, his confederates. Yet all this was hushed up again, and a peace made the following year, upon the death of the Marshal d'Ancres, the before-mentioned Florentine, and favourite of the queen, who was killed in the Louvre, by the king's own command; in that, when they were going to arrest him, he offered to draw his sword in his defence.

The fall of this Italian seemed now to pacify all malcontents; but the queen taking it to heart, retired from the court, which gave occasion to the king to assume the public administration of the go-

vernment into his own hands ; and a while after, he released the Prince of Conde from his confinement.

Much about the same time, there broke forth civil wars among the Grisons upon the account of religion ; for the Catholics and Protestants continually vexed one another with mutual injuries, and engaged the kings of France and Spain in their quarrel ; so that the arms of these two kingdoms were employed against each other, on a foreign account, for many years.

In the mean while, the Duke of Luines succeeding the Marshal d'Ancres in the prime ministry of France, the princes and nobles conceived as great a dislike and hatred of his power at the court, as they had before done of the others ; so that, in short, they took up arms also, and gave the king no small trouble, who was at the same time molested by the factious attempts of the queen-mother's party. But by the assistance and counsel of the Prince of Conde, who now proved faithful and serviceable to him, he suppressed all his domestic enemies, and restored quietness in France ; the queen-mother also and her party being reconciled to him.

Things remained in this posture till the Duke of Rohan and his brother Monsieur Soubize raised new commotions in the kingdom. The Rochellers at the same time took up arms in defence of their religion, and called in the English to their assistance, who sent a navy of an hundred and twenty ships, under the command of the Duke of Buckingham, but all to no effect ; for, though the English landed in the isle of Rhee, after many sharp conflict. yet they were



soon expelled again, and a long siege laid to Rochelle, under the conduct of Cardinal Richlieu and the Marshal de Schomberg, who reduced that city to the king's obedience, razed the walls, and left it as open as a village, that it might be a terror and example to others, teaching them rather to confide in the clemency and faith of their sovereign, than to try the force of his arms. This was done in the year 1628; from which time the rebels, as it were by strife, returned to their duty, seeking who should be most forward in testifying their obedience to the king, and their repentance for what was past. Thus was peace once more restored to France at home, that the king might have the more leisure to prosecute the war in Italy, whither he led his victorious army, taking many towns in his way to Casal, which he hastened to relieve, it being at this time besieged by Spinola the Spanish general. In a word, he came within sight of the very walls, and so near to the Spaniards, that both armies were ready to engage, when Mazzerini (afterwards made cardinal) ran between, and induced them to terms of peace.

A while after this, a peace was concluded between the Emperor and the Duke of Mantua, the latter having the possession of Mantua, Montferrat, and other places, confirmed to him by an imperial decree; but as if fate had ordained that the arms of France should not rust or be long idle, but that they should be constantly kept in exercise by equal vicissitudes of foreign and domestic wars, no sooner was this peace concluded, which gave some respite to the French abroad, when new stirs arose at home, occasioned

first through some misunderstandings between the queen-mother and Cardinal Richlieu, which afterwards were improved into open hatred and enmity, the queen-mother having drawn into her party the Duke of Orleans, brother to the king, a man who had conceived an irreconcilable aversion for that potent minister ; till at length things coming to an inevitable rupture at the court, the queen-mother fled privately into Flanders, and the Duke of Orleans into Lorraine, from whence he afterwards followed her into Flanders also.

The next year he rushed into Dauphiny with a confused army, and the Duke of Montmorency came over to his side, who being governor of that province, brought great forces with him, and gave new courage to the invaders, insomuch as they entered battle with the Mareschal de Schomberg general of the king's army. The fight was short and bloody, wherein the rebels were routed, having lost many of their principal leaders on the spot, whilst the Duke of Montmorency was taken prisoner, and afterwards beheaded by sentence of the Parliament. This concluded the year 1632, but the Duke of Orleans did not return to his duty till the year 1634, from which time the kingdom of France was still, by various turns, kept in active posture, either of defence or offence, partly by domestic factions, and partly by foreign engagements of allies or enemies, even to the time of the Turkish Spy's arrival at Paris, which was in the year 1637.

I pass over these three last years before his coming to Paris, with the more brevity, that there may be

room to say something of the other wars in which Europe had all along been equally engaged, from the murder of Henry IV. or thereabouts, to the same year 1637, and this shall be done as concisely as may be, that so the reader may have the clearer idea and understanding of what our Spy entertains him with in the course of his first letters, to the year 1643, when Lewis XIV. the present King of France began his reign, whose life and actions gave an immediate turn to all affairs, both in his own dominions and the other nations of Europe.

In the year 1610, the town of Guliek, in the Netherlands, was surrendered to Prince Maurice of Nassau, after many princes had claimed it upon the death of Duke John William, who left no heirs of his body; and Prince Maurice himself was obliged to the French for their aid in obtaining it. About the same time, the Moors were expelled out of Spain, to the number of nine hundred thousand, of which our Spy takes notice in some of his letters.

In the year 1611, Sigismund, King of Poland; took Smolensko, a very strong town of the Muscovites, after two years siege, whose son Uladisslaus, the Muscovites chose for their duke or czar, of which, repenting in a little time, there broke forth a bloody war in those parts.

The same year died Charles the King of Sweden, being succeeded by his son Gustavus, though some endeavoured to transfer the crown to Sigismund King of Poland.

In the year 1612, died Rodolph emperor of Germany, who was succeeded by Matthias his brother.

A while after this, the Venetians made war upon Ferdinand Archduke of Austria, son of the Archduke Charles, who was brother to the Emperor Maximilian II. This war lasted to the year 1618, at which time it was finished:

In the mean while, the war between the Dukes of Mantua and Savoy broke forth about the principality of Montferrat; it was occasioned by the death of Francis, Duke of Mantua, who leaving no male issue behind him, Cardinal Ferdinand, his brother, under the protection of the King of Spain, took possession of that principality, which he defended by arms, against Charles Philibert Duke of Savoy. This war also lasted to the year 1618, at which time it was ended by the powerful intervention of the French king.

About this time there broke out a most cruel war in Germany on this occasion. Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria and King of Bohemia, received also from the Emperor Matthias the kingdom of Hungary on certain conditions, which conditions seeming disadvantageous to the Protestants, they made an insurrection, first at Prague in Bohemia, where they killed the magistrates, and then they were soon followed by all Bohemia and the adjoining provinces, who took up arms against the king, under the conduct of Ernest Mansfelt and other grandees.

In the year 1619, Matthias the emperor died, whom Ferdinand, the aforesaid King of Bohemia and Hungary succeeding, prosecuted the war very vigorously against the rebels. In the mean while they chose for King of Bohemia, Frederick, Elector Palatine of the

Rhine, who had married the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to James I. King of England ; he, with his new queen, were the same year solemnly crowned at Prague ; and the year following, their forces being routed by the emperor, they themselves were forced to flee into Holland, where they led a private life ever afterwards. In the mean while, Bohemia, with the other revolting provinces, returned to their obedience ; and this was thought to be a leading card to the religious war, which about the same time was raised among the Grisons, of which mention is made above ; nay, and the same is supposed to have had influence on the commotions raised by the Huguenots inhabiting the foot of the Pyrenees, against whom Lewis XII. made a successful expedition in the year 1620, reducing the greatest part of that province to their duty and allegiance, though the following year gave him some fresh trouble, and the loss of many great nobles, among whom were the Duke of Mayne, governor of Guienne, and the Duke of Luines first minister of state.

About the same time died Pope Paul V. being succeeded by Gregory XV. who sat in the chair but two years and a few months, when dying, he left it to Urban III.

In the year 1624, Breda was besieged by Spinola the Spanish general, and surrendered in 1625. In the mean while, Count Mansfelt invested Germany with frequent excursions, being got at the head of a bold army of freebooters ; but at length he was defeated by Tilly, a brave and expert general on the Imperial side ; then he was forced to flee for sanctu-



ary into Transylvania, and from thence going to Venice, he died in the year 1626.

All these things our Spy glances at in his letters, but with some abruptness and obscurity, which renders him scarcely intelligible in those places, to such as know not the history : It is for this reason we are at the pains of giving a compendious view of the wars and transactions in Europe before his coming to Paris.

Therefore to proceed, Gustavus, King of Swedeland, came out of his territories in the year 1630, and entered Pomerania with a mighty army ; from whence, and from all the adjacent provinces, he drove the Imperialists. In the year 1631, he entered the more inferior parts of the empire, taking innumerable towns, and filling all places with terror ; and this he did under pretext of vindicating the Evangelics or Protestants. In vain did Tilly the general of the Catholics oppose him ; all that he could do was to burn Magdeburgh to ashes.

After which the Protestant princes held a diet or assembly at Leipfick, where they entered into a confederacy against the emperor, joining their forces with those of Gustavus. Against these Tilly marched, with General Papenheim, and laid close siege to Leipfick, which they were forced to surrender upon conditions.

After this, the King of Swedeland, the Duke of Saxony, with the other confederate princes, took to the field, and there was a terrible fight between them and the Imperialists at Leipfick, whose consequence proved fatal to the latter ; for Tilly having lost ten



thousand of his men, was forced to flee himself, whilst Leipfick fell into the hands of the Duke of Saxony. This victory opened a clear way for the King of Swedeland to overrun all Germany; so that having taken Wirtzberg, he soon reduced all Franconia or Frankenland, after that Mentz, with other provinces, spreading like a fire or a deluge of water. In the mean while, the Duke of Saxony invaded Bohemia, and took Prague the capital city of that kingdom. In a word, so general was the consternation throughout the empire, that some princes, to divert the storm which they saw hanging over their heads, had recourse to the protection of the King of France, who accordingly, by his mediation, screened them from violence, especially the Archbishop of Triers or Treves.

In the year 1632, the King of Swedeland pursued the course of his victories, ravaging, without stop or opposition, through Alsatia, Bavaria, and other parts, still taking towns and strong holds, filling all places also with ruin and desolation. At length, passing the Danube, he routed Tilly once more with all his army, who died soon after of a wound he received in the battle.

Wallestein was straight substituted in his place, who recovered Prague in Bohemia from the Saxons. Then, after many conflicts and skirmishes, he encountered the King of Swedeland at Lutzen, a town not far from Leipfick. This battle proved fatal to Gustavus, for in it he lost his life, and not long after him, General Papenheim on the German side.

The same year, Sigismund King of Poland dying,

his son Uladislauſus ſucceeded him in the throne. The Swedes were not in the leaſt diſcouraged from proſecuting the war by the death of their king; but whereas before they fought for conqueſt and liberty, now they ſeemed to fight for revenge. Chriſtina, the daughter of Guſtavus Adolphus, was ſoon ſet upon the throne of Sweden: After this, there was a diet held at Francfort, conſiſting of Swedes and Saxons; then there was another aſſembled at Hailbrun; and in the year 1634, the ſtates of Saxony met at Helberſtadt to conſult about their own ſafety. Much about the ſame time happened the ſieges of Ratiſbonne and Norlingen. This year was noted with tragical characters, on the account of the great deſolation made in the provinces lying on the Rhine, by war, peſtilence, and famine, where people were reduced to thoſe ſtraits as to feed on human fleſh, and to do other things which will ſcarce now ſeem credible.

The next year, 1635, ſeemed to give a new turn to the affairs in Germany; for the Duke of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Luxemburgh, having had a treaty at Prague in Bohemia, came over to the emperor's party; yet the Swedes ſtill purſued the war.

The two following years were remarkable for the election of Ferdinand III. who was choſen king of the Romans 1636, and ſucceeded his father in the empire 1637; as alſo for the irruption made by Gaſſio general of the German forces into France, which was attended with various events on both ſides, till at length, toward the end of 1637, Gaſſio returned with his army into the empire again.

The same year before, there was a notable sea-fight between the Spaniards and Hollanders. Prince Maurice overcame the Portuguese in Brasil, and took from them immense riches. The Prince of Orange besieged Breda and took it. The same year died Boleslaus the last Duke of Pomerania. Much about the same time, the pope earnestly exhorted the princes of Europe to establish a general peace.

Such was the face of things in Christendom when this Turk came first to Paris; and it is evident that the scenes were often changed in the course of those former years which I have here recounted; and so they have been ever since, which was the true reason of that variety of subjects with which our author abounds; in some letters giving an account of battles, sieges, and other events of campaigns; glossing also, and descanting on the good conduct, or oversights of great generals; on the valour of famous captains; and, in general, on the fortune of war. In others he treats of court intrigues, juntos of politicians, and subtle proposals of statesmen.

Again, when he writes to his intimate friends, he either entertains them with melancholy complaints of his long absence from Constantinople, and his native country, with the inconveniencies, miseries, hazards, and hardships that attend it; or else diverts them with some trifling discourse, comical story, or something very unusual, surprising, and strange.

In the time of war, he seems to be a curious engrosser of the earliest and choicest news. In time of peace he watches the motions of Cardinal Richlieu;

Mazarini, Olivarez, and other great ministers of state ; for this end he had his agents about in every corner of the Court of France, besides his intelligencers of Vienna, Venice, or some other city of Europe.

But give him leave sometimes to lay aside the cares and busy toils of life ; and wonder not if he seem, in some of his letters, very melancholy ; in others, of a contrary humour, cheerful and frolicsome ; for these unevennesses of temper happen to every man.

You shall hear him sometimes wishing himself amongst the pyramids of Egypt, confined and inclosed within those antique piles, a companion of ghosts and devils, rather than lead the life he did in Paris ; when, at another season, you shall find him all over content, and resignation itself in the abstract.

Besides, the difference of his years ought to be considered, which, at the climacterical periods, are observed to alter mens spirits, as well as their bodies ; so that it is no wonder, if, in the course of five-and-forty years which he passed away at Paris, both his genius and conversation may seem to vary at some critical seasons, through the natural force of time, and the change of the elements of which his body was compounded ; as he himself, in his letters, makes the same apology.

Add to all this, his daily improvements by observation, experience, reading, meditating, converse, and habitual engagements in the world ; for which reason alone, it would be unequal to expect the same method of writing from him, either as to sense

or style, matter or form, when he was but thirty or forty years old, as when he was threescore or threescore and ten. Most of the famous writers in the world have not only changed the opinions which they harboured in their greener years, but, before they came to the age of our *Spy*, some of them have publicly recanted them, both with their tongue and pen. Neither is it a shame to any man, so long as the old axiom is true: "*Humanum est errare; at, errores feliciter retractare, vere Divinum.*"

Neither could our *Spy*, considering his education in the Mahometan religion, take a properer method, in my opinion, to disengage himself from the legends of the nursery, and the fables of the schools; (as a great man calls our infant ideas of things) than to follow the counsel of his beloved *des Cartes*, the French philosopher, whom he so much admired; and who advises every one that would perfect his reason, and arrive at the knowledge of undisguised truth, to shake off the prepossessions and prejudices of his infancy and youth; to wipe, brush, or sweep his soul clean of the very dust and relics left behind on our faculties, by those first foreign invasions and encroachments on our minds. Having thus cleansed and polished the soul, it becomes a pure *tabula rasa*, fit for the best or worst impressions. And here is the first start of the free-will; for, before this, a man is a perfect slave; driven up and down by every spirit that blows strongest on him; whereas, now he begins to feel some strength and consistence in himself, being able to say, with interior and solid



reason, "*Cogito ergo sum.*" Fixing therefore on this foundation, he builds a fortress or strong-hold, from whence he defies all the attempts of open enemies, or sly secret interlopers; neither permitting himself to be debauched by the profaneness of libertines and atheists, nor by the ridiculous enthusiasms of fanatics and zealots. This is the course which our Turk seems to have taken with himself, when he once arrived to those years wherein men usually begin to examine the grounds of religion, and bring the documents and traditions of their fathers to the test of sense and reason. It is no wonder, therefore, if in some letters to his familiar and intimate friends, he discourses of such matters with more freedom than when he writes to the musti, the musti's vicar, the preacher of the seraglio, or any of the grandees; yet even to these he makes bold, sometimes, to propose queries, and start scruples; which plainly discover, that he was not fully satisfied in many principles and practices of the Mahometans.

On the other hand, when he writes to the Jew, his correspondent at Vienna, he endeavours to reclaim him from a too fond and implicit confidence in the Hebrew Rabbis, whom he calls religious triflers, ridiculing their fables, and vain institutions, and persuading his friend not to be over-pious, but to attend the affairs of his employment with alacrity, and to be zealous in the Grand Signior's service. He likewise frequently explodes the vanity and superstition of some sort of Christians, with some tartness indeed, but free from all ill nature and bitter-



ness, every where speaking honourably of Christ Jesus, our Blessed Saviour, only condemning the vices and errors of his followers; which last is no more than what would become a Christian divine, whose duty it is to reprove and correct whatsoever he sees amiss in those that profess the Christian faith.

In general, he appears a man void of superstition and bigotry; and, if he seems partial, or biaſſed any ways, it is in the point of abstinence from flesh, and the doctrine of transmigration; whereby we may conclude he was a Pythagorean, which is no new or uncommon thing among the Turks, there being a particular sect of Mahometans wholly devoted to the rules of that philosopher; and it is well known that Pythagorism is in great reputation all over the East.

Hence we need not wonder that he appears so much enamoured with the Italian Gentiles, who are the strictest observers of abstinence, and of the whole Pythagorean discipline, of any people in the world, as all our modern travellers can testify.

Though he cannot be called an antiquary, yet he appears a great lover of antiquities, and no less an admirer of new discoveries, provided they be both of them matters of importance, and worth a wise man's regard; for it does not belong to either of these characters, that a man is a curious collector of medals, images, pictures, and a thousand other insignificant trifles, which can neither serve to illustrate history, regulate chronology, nor adjust any momentous difficulty in the records of Time, but are only revered for their rustiness, illegible cha-

raſters, and exotic figure ; nor that he is fond of every little improvement in arts or ſciences, which perhaps has no other tendency than the advantage of ſome particular trade or profeſſion among men, and ſerves only to divert the mind from more ſolid objects : whereas our Arabian aſpires at higher things ; he loves antiquities, but it is only ſuch as draw the veil from off the infancy of time, and uncover the cradle of the world. This makes him inſiſt with ſo much zeal and paſſion on the records of the Chineſe and Indians. He admires new diſcoveries, but only ſuch as ſhall either conduct us to the yet unknown parts of the earth, or preſent us with a truer and more perfect ſcheme of the heavens, than what was before extant, as may be ſeen by his letters to Oſman Adrooneth, aſtropher to the Sultan, Vol. VIII. Book IV. page 191. and to Abdelmelec Muli Omer, preſident of the College of Sciences at Fez, Vol. VIII. Book IV. page 239.

He often praiſes and recommends the reading of hiſtory to his friends ; and, throughout the courſe of theſe letters, gives ſufficient proofs that he is no ſtranger to it : which yet need not be laid to his charge, as if he affected to be thought a knowing man, or that he ſpent his time in ſtudies foreign to his employment ; for he began to read hiſtories, as he himſelf declares, long before he came to Paris, as ſoon as he was releaſed from his captivity in Palermo in Sicily, and had acceſs to the academies ; which makes it no wonder that he ſhould employ his vacant hours in the libraries of Paris, after he came thither, being a very inquiſitive man, and greedy of

knowledge. Besides, he was commanded by his superiors thus to improve himself, and to transmit the abstracts of what he read to Constantinople, which is a sufficient excuse for all.

It only remains now that we touch upon some transactions of the East, as we have already done upon those in the West, that so the reader, who perhaps has not the leisure to peruse the Turkish history, may the better understand some passages in these letters relating thereto.

Our Spy was born in the reign of Sultan Achmet, during whose life, he being but a youth, it will be to no purpose to recount what happened in those parts, or between that monarch and the Christians.

Achmet dying, was succeeded by Mustapha his brother, of whom our author makes some mention, as, of his throwing gold to the fishes of the sea, and of the cruelty of Sultan Amurat IV. in causing him to be strangled. Indeed, he was a prince who made so small and contemptible a figure in the world, that few historians take any other notice of him than as a man more fit for a convent than for a royal palace.

Therefore, he being deposed, and remanded to his former prison, where he had spent his youth, Osman, the son of Achmet, was placed in the throne of his fathers. He renewed the ancient leagues, which had been made between his ancestors and several Christian princes; wrote letters to James I. King of England, and Louis XIII. King of France; aided the Emperor of Germany against the Hungarians, Bohemians, and other rebels; but at length, entering

into a war with Poland, his army was beaten, from which time his affairs began to decline : And the next year, giving out that he would make a pilgrimage to Mecca, he was strangled by the janizaries, who suspected that he designed to abolish their order, and alter the constitution of the empire.

Then Mustapha was taken out of his prison again, and the second time placed on the throne, who soon after experienced the mutability of fortune, in that he was again laid aside, and Amurat, the brother of Osman, established in his stead.

This Amurat was a very warlike prince, and esteemed the stoutest man of his age. He had not long swayed the Ottoman sceptre, when the Persians came and besieged Bagdad, or Babylon, which they took from the Turks. Then the Cossacs, with the inhabitants of the Ukrain, gave him some diversion, making violent incursions into the Turkish territories, and laying all waste wherever they came. However, the Sultan regarded the Persian war with most concern : He sent an army toward Babylon, in the year 1626, who were defeated by the Persians, twenty thousand Turks being killed on the spot. This was revenged afterwards by the slaughter of thirty thousand Persians. Then followed the siege, or rather blockade of Babylon by the Turks. A while after this happened that dreadful fire at Constantinople, which consumed a third part of the city ; of which our Spy makes mention in some of his letters, especially to his friend Dgnet Oglou, who had suffered great losses in the conflagration.

Not long after this, there was a rebellion raised

in the Holy Land, by Facardine, the brave and famous Emir of Sidon, with whom joined some other discontented Bassas and Beys of Egypt; but Amurat, sending powerful forces against them, reduced them to their duty. Afterwards, enticing Facardine to Constantinople, the old Emir went accordingly with forty thousand men at his heels, who encamped at a distance from the city; but at length, trusting too much to Sultan Amurat's allurements and fair promises, he ventured so far into the Grand Signior's clutches, that he was strangled. This our Spy descants upon in several letters.

Next followed the taking of Ravan by the Persians, which was accompanied by the rebellion of the Beglerbeg of Greece; at which time there raged a destructive plague at Constantinople. In this year our Spy came to Paris. Much about the same time, the Persians routed the Turks before Babylon, and forced them to raise the siege.

Amurat was so enraged with these reiterated ill successes, that, collecting together a mighty army, he led them in person to the walls of Babylon, and laid close siege to that city, resolving never to return to Constantinople till he had won that important place, which he accordingly did, with an infinite slaughter of the Persians. Our Spy speaks much of this siege, sometimes extolling the bravery of Schach Abbas, King of the Persians, at other times magnifying the valour of Amurat.

The Grand Signior, returning from this successful campaign, entered Constantinople in triumph; and being puffed up with his victories, gave the reins



to his passion, committing a thousand exorbitancies and cruelties. At length he died of a fever, which he got by excessive drinking of wine and spirits, to which he had much addicted himself.

Ibrahim, brother to Amurat, succeeded in the throne, a prince wholly given over to the amours of women; yet he commenced that long and tedious war with the Venetians, which cost so much money and blood on both sides, which lasted above twenty years, and which was not ended till the surrender of Candia, the chief city of the island bearing that name, which consummated the conquest of the whole isle.

The occasion of this war is related variously. Our histories affirm, that it was begun on the account of Sultan Ibrahim's son being taken captive by the Knights of Malta, who was afterwards educated in that island, became a monk, and, for distinction sake, in regard of his supposed extraction, was called Padre Ottomanno, or Ottoman Father. Our Spy contradicts all this, and says he was only the son of a female slave belonging to the Seraglio, there being no account to be had of his father.

Ibrahim being transported with an extravagant lust after women, and having debauched the mufti's daughter, the mufti, with the Grand Visier, and some other bassas, conspired against him, drawing his own mother into the plot. At length he was seized, deposed, and, after some days confinement, growing mad, he was strangled in his prison, and his son Mahomet IV. ascended the throne; a prince addicted more to hunting, and the pleasures of a



country life, than to war, or love of women ; whence it was, that he spent most of his summers in some delightful solitude, where the agreeable shades of the trees, the purling streams, and harmony of birds, invited him as to an earthly paradise. Yet this hindered not the Grand Visier from prosecuting the wars in Hungary, Dalmatia, Candia, and elsewhere, as there was occasion. Of all which things, our Spy gives hints in his Letters, according to their proper seasons.

To draw towards a conclusion. The reader of these Letters may observe, that our Spy in some of them makes mention of several papers and journals which came to his hands ; and of one which he wrote himself in the academies, wherein is contained the history of his youth, with the most memorable adventures which befel him in that part of his life.

But, among foreign journals, he seems to put the most value on those of Carcoa, Pesteli Hali his brother, and Isouf his cousin. The first of these was a private agent for the Grand Signior at Vienna, who lived some years there after our Spy came to Paris, and held a strict correspondence with him, by order of the Turkish Divan, as appears by several letters in the 1st and 2d Volumes ; but at length dying, his journal and other papers were sent by his successor to our Spy, with a ring, which Carcoa had bequeathed him as a legacy and token of his inviolable friendship, even to death.

This journal, as we may gather from some of our Spy's letters, contains copies of all the dispatch-

es which Carcoa sent to the ministers of the Porte, during his residence at Vienna, with some of their letters to him. In these, as we may farther collect, is couched a history of all the most remarkable transactions in Europe, with parallel occurrences and events in the East, from the year 1600, or thereabouts, to the year 1652, at which time Carcoa died. Our Spy, besides other commendations which he gives this journal of Carcoa, particularly celebrates it in one of his last letters to Nathan Ben Saddi, a Jew at Vienna. At the first receipt of that journal, he sent an answer to Nathan, which begins thus: "Thy letter, with Carcoa's journal, is come safe to my hands, and the ring which he bequeathed me," &c. And a little after, he says, "His memoirs will be of great service to me, containing a more accurate history of the German Court, from the year 1600 to the time of his death, than I have yet seen extant. I am not unacquainted with relations of this kind," &c. Vol. II. Book I. Letter XXXI. page 78. But in the very last letter he wrote to that Jew, he gives this journal yet far higher encomiums, praising the elegance and succinctness of the style, the solidity of the matter, and the great usefulness as well as delightfulness of both; as may be seen more at large in Vol. VIII. Book IV. Letter XVI. page 250.

The second journal is that of Pesteli Hali, brother to our Spy, and a great traveller in Asia. At his return to Constantinople he was made master of the customs, and superintendant of the arsenal there. His journal contains an accurate account of his travels through Syria, Arabia, Persia, India, China,

Tartary Georgia, Circassia, Mingrelia, &c. with choice remarks and observations on the divers religions, laws, customs, and forms of government, which he found among so many people of different nations; as also several strange and pleasant adventures that happened to him on the roads, and in cities; the escapes he made from robbers, and his intrigues with the Persian and Indian ladies; all which our Spy professes he took great delight to read. In a word, according to the character which he gives of this journal, we may believe that it contains many useful and pleasant memoirs, in history, philosophy, morality, and the politics.

As for the journal of Isouf, his cousin, we may conclude, from several letters in our Spy, that it deserves much the same character, only with this advantage, that besides his travels through all, or most of the forementioned countries in the East, he adds an account of his journeys through the South, having visited the chiefest regions of Afric; and Mahmut appears particularly pleased with this last part of his journal, as containing narratives of countries to which he was wholly then a stranger. In a word, upon the reading of this journal, he conceived so great an affection for his cousin Isouf, the author of it, that he recommends him to his brother Pesteli Hali, and to one of the bassas, as a man deserving the Sultan's favour, and some preferments suitable to his abilities, which may be a sufficient ground for us to believe, that this journal was not stuffed with vain romantic fables and empty trifles, but that it had something in it extraordinary and illustrious.

If therefore the publisher of these volumes, who has been at great expence and pains in endeavouring to retrieve the said journals, should ever be so happy as to succeed in his attempt, he promises himself that the publication of the said journals will be a work both useful and acceptable to the world.

# INTERPRETATION

OF SOME

## *TURKISH AND ARABIC WORDS*

Which may seem Obscure and Unintelligible either in these Letters or in their Titles.

**AARAF**, a place of prisons; purgatory, or a mid-receptacle of souls between paradise and hell, according to the doctrine of the Turks.

**ALLAH**, the name of God.

**BASSA**, a title of honour given to governors of provinces, and privy counsellors of the Grand Signior.

**BERBER AGA**, the Grand Signior's barber.

**Bey**, a lord.

**BEGLERBEG**, lord of lords. A title equivalent to our dukes and princes.

**BOSTANGI**, a gardener.

**CADILESQUER**, a lord chief-justice.

**CADI**, a judge, or justice of the peace.

**CALIPH**, a prince, or high priest.

**CHAN**, a duke.

**CHEIK**, a lawyer.

**CHERIFF**, a prince.

**CHIAUX**, a bailiff, or serjeant.

**CORBAN**, a Mahometan sacrifice of sheep, which being killed and cut in pieces, are distributed to the poor.

**DERVISE**, a religious man.

**DEY**, a governor.

**DIVAN**, the Grand Signior's privy-council; also a raised ground in a hall, or any other room of a house.

**DUNALMA**, a festival, or royal holiday.

**EMIR**, a lord.

FESTA, the sentence which the mufti gives in the determination of any cause brought before him.

HARNA, the treasury.

HARODA, the royal chamber.

HASNADAR BASSI, chief treasurer to the Grand Signior.

HODGIA, a doctor of laws.

HOLBAGI, a confectioner.

IMAUM, a minister, or clerk of a church.

JANISAR AGA, general of the janizaries.

KAIMACHAM, a deputy-lieutenant, or governor of a city.

The Grand Visier's Vicegerent. By way of excellency, it is appropriated to him who governs Constantinople in the Grand Visier's absence.

KIAYA BEY, lord-lieutenant of the janizaries.

MANDARIN, a governor of a province, or a lord.

MINARET, a turret, or steeple of a mosque.

MIRZAH, a general.

MOLLAH, a doctor or preacher.

MURCERMAN, a carrier or muleteer.

MUSSULMAN, or MOSELMAN, a true believer, one resigned to God. This title the Mahometans arrogate to themselves, as the only elect of God, in their own conceits.

NABOB, a lord.

OMRAH, a colonel, or lord.

REIS EFFENDI, a secretary of state.

SANTONE, a holy man.

SELICTAR AGA, the sword-bearer to the sultan.

SERASQUIER, a general of an army.

SOLACK and SAICK, footmen.

SULTAN, a king or emperor.

TEFTERDER, lord-treasurer.

VISIER AZEM, the first minister of state.



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## TO THE READER.

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I HERE offer you a book written by a Turk, whose matter is as instructive and delightful as the manner of finding it was strange and surprising. I do not doubt but you would know where it was written, and perhaps whether the author be living, and whether you must expect a romance or a real history. Hear then in short what will fully satisfy you.

The curiosity of seeing Paris made a man of letters leave Italy in the year 1682, where being arrived, he found such diversions as caused his stay longer than he intended.

Scarce had he been two months in Paris, when, by changing his lodging, he discovered, by mere chance, in a corner of his chamber, a great heap of papers, which seemed more spoiled by dust than time.

He was at first surpris'd to see nothing but barbarous characters, and was upon the point of leaving them without any farther search, if a Latin sentence, which he perceived on the top of a leaf, had not detained him :

Ubi amatur, non laboratur; et si  
Laboratur, labor amatur.

The surprise of the Italian was yet greater, when after having considered these characters with more attention, he found them to be Arabic, which language was not altogether unknown to him, which made him look more narrowly into them, where he found that they treated of affairs of state ; that they contained relations of war and peace ; and discoursed not only of the affairs of France, but of those of all Christendom, till the year 1682.

The curious Italian was in no small impatience to know how and where these memorials had been written, and by what adventure they came to lie so neglected in a corner of his chamber ; but before he further informed himself, he thought it expedient to transport these manuscripts into another house, as a place of greater security.

He afterwards questioned his landlord, with great precaution, concerning the papers, and he informed him even to the least circumstances.

He told him, that a stranger, who said he was a native of Moldavia, habited like an ecclesiastic, greatly studious, of small stature, of a very coarse countenance, but of surprising goodness of life, had lived long at his house ; that he came to lodge there in the year 1664, and had staid eighteen years with him ; that being gone abroad one day, he returned no more, and they had no certain news of him since : He was about seventy years old, had left some manuscripts which nobody understood, and some moneys, which was an argument that his departure was not premeditated.

He added, that he had always a lamp, day and

night, burning in his chamber ; had but few moveables, only some books, a small tome of St. Austin, Tacitus, and the Alcoran, with the picture of Masfaniello, whom he praised very much, calling him the Moses of Naples. He said farther, that this stranger's greatest friend, and whom he saw often, was a man which most people took for a saint, some for a Jew, and others suspected to be a Turk : According to the landlord's report, he came to Paris in the year 1637, being then but 28 years of age ; at first, he had lodged with a Fleming ; he went often to court ; moneys never failed him ; he had friends, and passed for very learned. As for his end, this man thinks he died miserably, it being suspected that he had been thrown into the river.

The Italian, being sufficiently instructed by what he had heard, applied himself to the study of the Arabian language, and as he had already some knowledge in it, he quickly learned enough to translate these manuscripts, which he undertook a while after ; and he examined with care the truth of what the Moldavian had written, confronting the events he met with the histories of those times ; and to succeed the better, searched the most approved memorials, having had access into the cabinets of princes and their ministers.

These letters contain the most considerable intrigues of the court of France, and the most remarkable transactions of Christendom, which have been sent to several officers of the Ottoman court:

By these may be known the perspicacity of this agent of the Turks, and by him the prudence of

those that command in that nation, who chose (the better to penetrate into the affairs of Christians) a man who could not be suspected by his exterior, who was deformed, but prudent and advised, and, for the better concealing him, destined his ordinary abode in one of the greatest and most peopled cities of Europe.

During his being at Paris, which was forty-five years, he has been eye-witness of many great changes, has seen the death of two great ministers of state, has seen that kingdom involved in war, without and within. He was scarce settled in Paris; but he was witness to the birth of a king, who surpassed those that preceded him, in a time when the queen's barrenness caused the king her husband to despair of ever having a son that should succeed him.

During the course of so many years, he hath seen cities revolt, and return again to the obedience of their sovereign, princes of the blood make war against their king, and Queen Mary de Medicis, wife, mother, and mother-in-law to some of the greatest kings in Europe, die in exile in Cologne.

He speaks frankly of the princes of Christendom, and explains his sentiments with liberty: He saith, the Emperor commands princes, the King of Spain men, and the King of France sees men, and even kings obey his orders; he adds, that the first commands and prays, the second sees oft times more effected than he commanded, and that the third commands many brave soldiers, and is well nigh obeyed by crowned heads. There appears no heat or animosity in him, in what he writes against the pope.

In discoursing of the Emperor and King of Spain, he says, that both of them having provinces of such vast extent, they are not much concerned at the losses they sustain.

He believed that England was more powerful than the empire and Spain at sea; he apprehended more the counsels of the republic of Venice than their arms; he magnifies what passed in the wars of Candy, which the Venetians supported with so much bravery against the forces of the Ottoman empire: The Genoese with him are perfect chemists; he speaks of the last plague, and last war that this commonwealth had been afflicted with; he touches something of the late conspiracy against the state by Raggi and Torne; and to show that he understood their history, he says somewhat of Vachero and Balbi.

Thou wilt see, reader, by the progress of the work, what this secret envoy of the Ottoman Porte thought of the other princes of Italy, and those of the North; and I have drawn his picture, because thou mayest understand better what I give thee of him.

This Arabian (for he declares himself in his writings to have been of that nation) having been taken and made a slave by the Christians, was brought into Sicily, where he applied himself to learning; he studied logic in his captivity, and applied himself much to history; he overcame them by suffering with patience the blows of his master, who often beat him for endeavouring to acquire those lights which this brute had not; and finally, after much labour, great assiduity, and long watchings, he came, as he writes

himself, to understand Greek and Latin authors ; he had commerce afterwards with the best masters, and during his sojourning in the French court, he joined experience to the knowledge he had acquired.

He explains himself neatly, and speaks of things with great frankness : His style shows a great liberty of spirit, and never passion ; and if it appear that he accommodates himself to the fashion of the court, one may see that it is not out of design to please, but that he wisely conforms himself sometimes to the genius of nations.

Thou wilt find in his letters wit and learning : If sometimes he appears tart, it is to show his vivacity, not disoblige ; and he appears all over fully instructed in ancient and modern history : He is very reserved when he blames, and seems persuaded when he praises : When he speaks to the great men of the Porte, his style is very grave, and he changes when he writes to meaner persons : He never tells news that he is not assured of, nor thinks of divining things that seem obscure to him.

He gives rare lessons when he writes of the revolutions of Catalonia, the kingdoms of Naples, Portugal, and England, which happened in our days, with strange circumstances, terrible murders, and the death of a potent king, martyred by his own subjects upon a scaffold before his own door.

He weighs much the Duke of Guise's hardy resolution of going to Naples to succour the revolted there ; and he reasons not as a barbarian, but like an able statesman and wise philosopher, on the rise and ruin of states ; he always discourses with liberty,



and what he says is filled with solid and agreeable thoughts: He speaks sometimes of the cruelty and tyranny of the Turks, of the violence of the ministers of the Porte, and upon the precipitated death which many of the Sultans, Bassas, and Vissiers are forced to suffer; but this language is only to his friends and confidants.

However, though these letters be neither Greek nor Latin, nor written by a Christian, they contain nothing of barbarous; and though the ignorant be in great numbers amongst the Turks, there are yet men of great understanding that write the annals of the Ottoman empire, though they are not easily come by; for their books not being printed, they scarce ever reach us. We may notwithstanding believe, that amongst this nation, that we term barbarous, there are great and wise captains, good men, and learned authors; as we have amongst us generals without conduct, hypocritical votaries, and ignorant fellows that pretend to be masters.

To justify what I affirm of the Turks, let us but consider their victories, which have gained them so many kingdoms, their power at sea, their exactness to punish crimes, and to reward merit. As for printing, they would never endure it amongst them: A Grand Vissier's judgment of it was remarkable, which shows rather their prudence than any effect of their ignorance. A famous printer of Holland, by religion a Jew, came to Constantinople, bringing presses with him, with characters of all sorts of idioms, particularly Arabic, Turkish, Greek, and Persian letters, with design to introduce the use of

printing into that great city ; as soon as the Visier was informed of it, he caused the Jew to be hanged, and broke all his engines, and millions of characters which he had brought, declaring it would be a great cruelty, that one man should, to enrich himself, take the bread out of the mouths of eleven thousand scribes, who gained their livings at Constantinople by their pens.

Peruse, gentle reader, what I offer, without fear of tiring thyself, or being deceived. As Christian authors think of nothing ordinarily, but of writing panegyrics in hopes of reward, we have reason to believe not to find all the truth in their works ; interest and passion do often make good princes pass for tyrants, and unjust and cruel princes are sometimes transferred to posterity for models of justice and clemency. This occasions histories, which issue from so corrupt a source, to serve like a pitched field for modern writers, where the one and the other combat for the destruction of truth, the one falsely reporting what they have heard, and the other by as badly representing the things they seem to witness. Most princes will have their altars, and then it is no wonder if there are priests found to sacrifice to falsehood, and idolaters to deface the statue of truth.

There is no general that will not always seem conqueror, and princes never confess their losses, which occasions a confusion, and the actions of men do thereby become doubtful.

How many times have we seen both the victors and vanquished make bonfires for their successes ? And, in our days we have known the French rejoice,

and the Spaniards and Germans sing their *Te Deum*, for the same thing.

As we are, perhaps, now less just than in ages past, it is difficult to write things as they are, particularly during the lives of princes, whose history cannot be written without fear, nor the truth said without danger. For these reasons, we ought not to question the credit of our Arabian, who reports with liberty what came to his knowledge; besides, he being an universal enemy to Christianity, and a concealed one, neither disobliged or gained by any, and religiously true to his prince, whom he adores as a divinity, it cannot be imagined that he says any thing for fear or favour.

As these relations have been read with attention, and diligently examined, we may be assured of an exact history, abounding in considerable events; and this history being separated into letters, as the author wrote them, the reader may read them without repining: If he will not acknowledge the translator's pains, let him at least receive the labours of a dead man with civility, one that never dreamt his memorials would be printed, and that served his master faithfully.

These sentiments made him exactly follow that sentence of St. Austin, found in the front of his works:

Where love is, there is no labour; and if there be labour, the labour is loved.

The translator hath thought fit to retrench some ceremonies and proud titles of the eastern people; what is represented here, is in a familiar style, such

as the ancient Latins used in their writings to their consuls, dictators, and emperors themselves; and, if the translation be not elegant as the Arabic, do not accuse the author, seeing it is not possible to reach the force and beauty of the original.

Have, moreover, some respect for the memory of this Mahometan; for, living unknown, he was safe from the insults of the great ones, so that he might write truth without danger, which ordinarily is disguised by fear or avarice, having still reported the transactions of Christians with no less truth than eloquence.

If what I have said cannot satisfy the curious, expect the rest of these letters, which will be found full of great actions, profitable instructions, and good morals. Thank God, however, who raises men that employ themselves in vanquishing ignorance and idleness. And in rendering justice to Mahmut, a passionate slave for the interest of his master and the truth, have some goodness for the translator, who, being born free, acknowledges no master but God, his king, and his reason.

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# CONTENTS.

## VOL. I.

---

### BOOK I.

LETTER	Page
I. MAHMUT an Arabian, and the Grand Signior's Vilest Slave, to Hafnadarbassy, Chief Treasurer to his Highness at Constantinople, - - - -	I
Of the arrival of Mahmut at Paris; a description of the place; his disguisement, and manner of living amongst the Christians.	
II. To the same Hafnadarbassy, - - - -	4
Of the Isles of St. Margaret and Honorat, taken by the Spaniards; and of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux.	
III. To Darnish Mehemet, Bassa, - - - -	5
Touching the Te Deum, and the rejoicings of the French for the victory of Leucate.	
IV. To Isouf, his Kinsman, - - - -	7
He exhorts him to love God, his religion, and the Grand Signior.	
V. To the Aga of the Janizaries, - - - -	8
Of the taking of Breda; of Marquis Spinola; he exhorts him to read history.	
VI. To Mehemet, an Eunuch Page of the Sultan Mother, - - - -	10
He recommends to him his interests at the Porte; of a prodigy which happened in Germany; and of an English ship.	
VII. To the Invincible Visier Azem, - - - -	11

LETTER	Page
Of the Queen of France's barrenness; of the court, the genius of the French, and affairs of Afric.	
VIII. To Muzlu Reis Effendi, the Chief Secretary of the Ottoman Empire,	16
Of his manner of living, and of the town of Paris.	
IX. To the Mufti, Prince of the Religion of the Turks,	18
Touching religion.	
X. To the Kaimacham,	21
Of the pictures of the King of France, Cardinal Rich-lieu, and the Prince of Conde's son.	
XI. To Bedredin, Superior of the Convents of the Dervises of Cogni in Natolia,	24
Of the conversation he had with a Jesuit, touching the Mahometan religion.	
XII. To Chiurgi Muhammèt, Bassa,	31
Of the Queen of France's being with child.	
XIII. To Carcoa at Vienna,	33
He sends him three pictures, and asks of him necessaries.	
XIV. To William Vospel, a Christian of Austria,	34
Touching the death of his wife, and of the design he had of retiring into a convent of Carmelites.	
XV. To Ibrahim, that renounced the Christian Religion,	38
That one should not write falsities touching religion.	
XVI. To Dicheu Hufflein, Bassa,	ibid.
Of the everlasting wars amongst Christians; of Gustavus King of Swedeland, and Weymar's victories.	
XVII. To Achmet Beig,	42
Of Italy; of the House of Savoy; and of the war which the Spaniards and French made in Piedmont.	
XVIII. To Mustapha, Berber Aga,	44
Of the death of Marshal de Crequi; of magic, and of the Fort of Breme.	
XIX. To Murat Bassa,	48
Of Madam de Savoy; the Cardinal de Valette; of Ver-celle, and of the Duke of Rohan.	
XX. To Dgnet Oglou,	53
Of his captivity at Palermo, and his employment.	
XXI. To the Kaimacham,	58
Of Piedmont; and of a conspiracy discovered at Genoa.	



LETTER	Page
XXII. To the same,	62
Of the siege of Fontarabia; of the Prince of Conde; and of the loss of several Spanish vessels.	
XXIII. To Afis, Bassa,	64
Of a diet held at Stockholm, where it was determined to continue the war with Germany; and the French design on St. Omers.	
XXIV. To the Kaimacham,	65
Of the French armies; their progress; and of Cardinal Richlieu.	
XXV. To the same,	67
Of the queen's drawing near her time; of Casimir taken prisoner.	
XXVI. To the same,	69
Of the King of Poland's travels into Hungary and Ger- many.	
XXVII. To Kerker Hassan, Bassa,	70
Of Amurath's exploits on the frontiers of Persia; and of the death of two great personages.	
XXVIII. To the Kaimacham,	73
Of the birth of the Dauphin.	
XXIX. To the Captain Bassa,	75
Of a sea fight between the French and Spaniards.	
XXX. To the Captain Bassa,	78
Of the galleys of Malta.	

## BOOK II.

LETTER	Page
I. To the Captain Bassa,	79
Mahmut reproaches him with the intelligence he held with the Emperor of Germany's secretary.	
II. To the same,	82
Of the galleys the Barbarians lost.	
III. To the same,	86
He discovers the means of surprising Loretto.	
IV. To the Kaimacham,	88
He discourses of the ministers of foreign princes, and of the affairs of Vallone and Loretto.	

LETTER	Page
V. To the same, Touching the setting at liberty the old renegado Durlu.	92
VI. To the same, Of the war of Piedmont; misfortunes of the House of Savoy; of the Duke of Saxony; of the taking of Bri- fac by the Duke of Weymar.	95
VII. To the same, Of the Duke of Lorrain; affairs of Germany, Swede- land, and Alsatia.	99
VIII. To Melech Amet, Of the disgrace of Stridya Bey; and of another adven- ture.	105
IX. To the same, Of a particular accident that happened to a son that re- joiced at the news of his father's sickness.	108
X. To Enguruli Emin, Cheik, a Man of the Law, Of the king's goodness to an ancient father of a family, that would needs turn soldier in his old age, &c.	111
XI. To Cara Hali, a Physician, Of the mountains of Sicily and Naples, which cast forth perpetual flames; of the nature of these flames, and of their effects.	114
XII. To the Venerable Mufti, &c. On religion; on some of his scruples, and touching the Alcoran.	117
XIII. To the Kaimacham, Of a man that was sent as a spy to the court of Rome by Cardinal Richlieu; and of other matters.	120
XIV. To Egri Boinou, the White Eunuch, Touching the life of Henry IV.	124
XV. To the Invincible Visier Azem, Mahmut's conference with Cardinal Richlieu, touching the affairs of Jerusalem.	137
XVI. To the same, Of the Dauphin of France; and the Sultan's voyage to Babylon.	143
XVII. To Bekir Bassa, Chief Treasurer to the Grand Sig- nior, Of a pleasant and dangerous adventure which happened to Mahmut; and of the Jew Eliachim.	144

LETTER	Page
XVIII. To Carcoa of Vienna, Mahmut sends word, that he has lost the money he sent him, and how.	148
XIX. To Dgnet Oglou, A relation of the life of Birkabeb; and of a Persian prince.	149
XX. To Egri Boinou, an Eunuch, Remains of the life of Henry the Great.	152

## BOOK III.

LETTER	Page
I. To Muzlu, Reis Effendi, &c. Of Affam, bassa of Algiers; his death, and barbarous sentiments, in respect of his slaves.	164
II. To the Invincible Visier Azem, at the Camp under Babylon, Of the memoirs which Mahmut gave to the Cardinal Richlieu on the lives of illustrious men.	165
III. To Lubano Abufei Saad, an Egyptian Knight, What Cardinal Richlieu did at a ball.	176
IV. To Mehemet, an Eunuch-Page, Of the beginning of Mahmut's sickness, and of the cruelty of Amurath.	177
V. To Zelim of Rhodes, Captain of a Galley, That a man is parted expressly from Leghorn to assassinate him at Constantinople.	181
VI. To the Invincible Visier Azem, &c. Of the siege of Babylon.	183
VII. To the same, Of Brisac, Piedmont, Italy, and Brandenburg.	186
VIII. To Bedredin, Superior of the Dervises in Natolia, Of his sickness.	190
IX. To Oucoumiche, his Mother, at Scios, Of his sickness.	191
X. To Pesteli Hali, his Brother, Of his sickness.	192
XI. To Dgnet Oglou, Of his sickness, in a particular style.	194

LETTER	Page
XII. To the Kaimacham,	196
* He discourses of the dexterity of the dwarf Osmin; and of the ambassador of Venice's solicitations at court, to induce the king to make war with the Turks.	
XIII. To Isouf, his Kinsman,	200
He speaks of his sickness; entreats him to give alms for his recovery, and to pray to God for him.	
XIV. To the Invincible Visier Azem, &c.	201
A relation of his sickness, and of the death of the Duke of Weymar.	
XV. To the Kaimacham,	204
Of his sickness and cure; of Germany and Italy; and of a sea fight between the Dutch and French.	
XVI. To Dgnet Oglou,	206
Of his perfect cure; and of friendship.	
XVII. To Adonai, a Jew, at Genoa,	209
He blames him for sending false news about the Genoefes to the Porte.	
XVIII. To the Kaimacham,	211
Of Turin; of the new invented bullets; of the affairs of Italy, and Spanish fleet that was lost.	
XIX. To Dgnet Oglou,	214
Of Mahmut's amours with a beautiful Greek.	
XX. To the Invincible Visier Azem,	222
Of a Chiaus from the Porte, who came to Paris; and touching the affairs of Persia.	
XXI. To Cara Hali, the Physician,	224
He gives him an account of his recovery; of the violent frosts at Paris, and austerly of the Capuchins.	
XXII. To the Kaimacham,	228
Of the troubles in Spain, Catalonia, and Portugal; and a description of the revolt in Barcelona.	
XXIII. To Dgnet Oglou,	232
Letter of consolation on the fire at Constantinople.	
XXIV. To the Captain Bassa of the Sea,	237
Of the vessels of Afric taken by the Christians; and of the Knights of Malta.	
XXV. To the Invincible Visier Azem,	238
A description of the revolution of Portugal.	

LETTER	Page
XXVI. To Enguruli Emir Cheik, Of the death of Amurath IV.; of the new sultan Ibra- him; and of the affairs of the seraglio.	259

## BOOK IV.

LETTER	Page
I. To the Venerable Mufti, &c. Of Cardinal Richlieu, his craft and policy.	254
II. To the Reis Effendi, &c. Of a conspiracy discovered at Paris against Cardinal Richlieu.	256
III. To the Kaimacham, Of Julius Mazarini, and his negotiation in Savoy.	257
IV. To Dgnet Oglou, A particular description of the greatness of the Spanish monarchy.	260
V. To the Invincible Visier Azem, Of the battle of Sedan; of Count Soisson's death, and conspiracy against the cardinal.	263
VI. To Solyman, his Cousin, Mahmut complains of his perfidioufness.	269
VII. To Dgnet Oglou, Against the infidelity and inconstancy of the beautiful Greek.	272
VIII. To Carcoa at Vienna, He informs him of the receipt of his letters, with the money, and balm of Mecca.	276
IX. To Berber Mustapha, Aga, &c. Of the Duke of Lorraine; the loss of his country; and of the King of France's indignation.	277
X. To Bedredin, Superior of the Dervises, &c. On his own age, and of a man that lived 129 years.	281
XI. To the Redoubtable Visier Azem, On the life and death of General Bannier; and imprison- ment of Don Duarte, brother to the new King of Portugal.	285
XII. To the Kaimacham, Of the parliament of Paris; and affairs of Catalonia.	287
XIII. To the Venerable Mufti, &c.	290

LETTER	age
Of Cardinal Richlieu, and calumnies published against him, touching his design of making himself patriarch of France.	
XIV. To Oucoumiche, his Mother, &c.	292
Letter of consolation, on the death of her second husband; that the Countess of Soissons has greater cause of trouble for the death of her son.	
XV. To the Grand Signior's Chief Treasurer,	297
Of the disgrace of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux.	
XVI. To the Kaimacham,	299
On the imprisonment of Count Allie, apprehended at Turin, by Richlieu's order.	
XVII. To the Reis Effendi,	301
Of a Spaniard found dead in Paris, who had in his pocket a catalogue of all the great Lords, whom Cardinal Richlieu had caused to be destroyed.	
XVIII. To William Vospel,	302
Of his retirement from the world; on thieves, and the invention of keys.	
XIX. To the Venerable Mufti,	306
Of Cardinal Richlieu, and what he did in respect of a General of Dervises, and of the great news brought him.	
XX. To the Kaimacham,	309
Of the books of Geber; and of chemistry.	
XXI. To Mehemet, an Eunuch Page,	316
What Cardinal Richlieu did against the Queen of France, and of his ambition.	
XXII. To the Kaimacham,	318
Of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, who died in Afric; and of him that took on him that name.	
XXIII. To the Mufti,	323
Of a mule laden with gold, which Cardinal Richlieu sent to an unknown person in a wood.	
XXIV. To Berber Mustapha, Aga,	324
Description of duels; of a bill of defiance which the Duke de Medini Celi sent to Don Juan of Braganza, the new King of Portugal.	
XXV. To the Invincible Visier Azem,	329
Of a new conspiracy discovered at Lisbon, against the new King of Portugal.	



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# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

## A SPY AT PARIS.

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### BOOK I.

LETTER I.—*MAHMUT the Arabian, and Vilest of the Grand Signior's Slaves, to HASNADARBASSY, Chief Treasurer to his Highness at Constantinople.*

I HAVE at length finished my journey, after one hundred and forty days march, arriving at Paris the 4th of this present moon, according to the Christians style. I made no stay in Hungary, yet sojourned one-and-forty days at Vienna, where I observed all the motions of that court, according as I was ordered; of which I shall not now speak, having given a full account to the ever invincible Visier Azem. Being but newly arrived, I scarce know any body, and am as little known myself. I have suffered my hair to grow a little below my ears; and as to my lodging, it is in the house of an old Fleming, where my room is so small, that jealousy itself can scarce enter. And because I will have no enemy near me, I will therefore admit of no servant.

Being of low stature, of an ill-favoured countenance, ill shaped, and by nature not given to talkativeness, I shall the better conceal myself. Instead of my name, Mahmut the Arabian, I have taken on me that of Titus

the Moldavian; and with a little cassock of black serge, which is the habit I have chosen, I make two figures, being in heart what I ought to be, but outwardly, and in appearance, what I never intend.

Carcoa at Vienna furnishes me with bread and water, supplying me with just enough to live, and I desire no more. The eggs here are dearer than pullets with you. It is to him that I will address my letters.

Eliachim the Jew came to see me, who seems to be sufficiently informed of what passes in the world, and will be an useful man to me: Yet I will never trust him more than I need. Although I have a dispensation from the Mufti for lying, and false oaths which I shall be obliged to make, yet I have still some qualms on my mind. However, our sovereign must be served, and I can commit no sin as long as this is my sole end. As for the intelligence which I shall send, none shall come from me but what is true, unless I be first deceived myself.

It will be hard for me to mention any thing considerable of a city which is not to be viewed in one day, I having been there but seven. It is peopled like the borders of the sea with sand, the inhabitants lodging to the very cock-lofts, and houses are built on the bridges.

This great city is divided by a river, and both parts of it are joined by a great bridge of stone, well built and very stately. In the midst of it is seen an horse of brass, with the statue of Henry IV. which bestrides it; whose heroic actions have justly surnamed him *The Great*; and he seems still to command this capital of the kingdom. The other bridges, being full of houses, are not seen; appearing as if they had been made for the city, not the river.

The king's palace is an ancient building, yet retains a

certain majesty, which denotes the grandeur of its master: within it appears a desert, for the court is always abroad, or in the army.

A churchman, termed at Rome a Cardinal, is the principal minister of state; his name is Armand du Pleffis, Cardinal of Richlieu. He is esteemed a great politician, a man of wit and action, and every way fitted for the place he holds.

All the people make vows to heaven, that their king may become a father; for the queen has been barren these many years.

I go into the churches as a Christian; and when I seem attentive to their mysteries, I hold our sacred Alcoran in my hands, addressing my prayers to our holy Prophet; and thus behaving myself, I give no offence. I avoid disputes, mind my own concerns, and do nothing which may endanger my salvation.

Preserve thy health, and expect to hear from me as oft as the interest of our great and mighty monarch requires, who is the master of my life and affections.

I make thee no present of my services, for they be devoted to that lord whose slave thou art, as well as I. The letters I write for the future, shall be directed to the ministers of the Divan.

Live with the piety of a good Mussulman, and the prudence of an able minister, and preserve the treasure as thine own heart, which (thou knowest) is the last expiring.

Paris, 11th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1637,  
according to the Christian style.

II.—*To the same* HASNADARBASSY.

I HAD too good an opinion of myself, and did not sufficiently consider to whom I wrote, when I attempted, in so little a time, to give thee an account of the court of France, and how this king lives. An old Arabian was wont to say, “To have a perfect knowledge of things, we must know them more than once, and forget them thrice, to the end that learning them a fourth time they may become perfectly our own.” This will instruct me how to write to my friends hereafter; not as I understand affairs, but as they ought to be understood; for, once well done, is better than twice ill done.

I think I may say, the Spaniards want ground themselves, by taking an handful from others. Two-and-twenty of their galleys, with some other small vessels, have taken two small islands, named St. Margaret’s and St. Honorat’s, which lie over against Provence, and are barren and unprofitable places, and will serve to little purpose unless for ports; and it is also a question, how long they will hold them.

The war betwixt these two nations is like to continue, especially from the death of the two Italian princes, Victor Amade, Duke of Savoy, and Charles Gonzague, Duke of Mantua.

I believe it an effect of Providence, that these two nations know not their own interest, or knowing it, neglect it. Heaven is more kind to us; for, as our empire transcends all others in strength and greatness, so it does in unity and concord; by which means, it is in our power to make war, or live in peace. The Christians never consider the advantage they lose, and the good they may acquire, by attacking of us, whom they yet hate, and treat as Barbarians.

The Archbishop of Bourdeaux is at present general of the French naval forces ; who, though a priest, is yet permitted to turn tarpaulin and soldier. For my part, I understand not how a prelate of his rank can forsake his flock, his altar, and his function, if what the Christians say be true : but that is nothing to us ; and the King of France being so enlightened a prince, and employing him as he does, he must needs be a good seaman and soldier.

To say no more in this matter ; “for princes, of what religion soever they be, are always sacred, and not to be approached but with respect, seeing their doings lie above the reach of a common capacity.”

I would fain hear of the Grand Signior's health ; for when he is well, all the world is so to me, and without him I am nothing. I will not write so soon to the Grand Visier, being desirous to write what passes here with more exactness.

I am in this place like a man lost in confusion ; for this town seems rather a province than a city. All is hurry and noise, every body brushing about after action. The men, for the most part, are for martial exploits, either at sea or land ; and as to the women, they are not idle, employing themselves, as becomes them, either in the shops or kitchens ; yet they take more care to show themselves, than ours do to hide themselves. Do thou be careful of thy health, for I shall never be miserable, having thee to my friend.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1637.

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### III.—To DARNISH MEHEMET, *Bassa*.

I HAVE been at a ceremony which I am willing to see often, to give an account of it in my letters. It is the



Te Deum, which Christian princes cause to be sung in their churches on the gaining any considerable advantage over their enemies; which Te Deum is an anthem composed by two of their saints, to wit, Ambrose and Austin. When the French beat the Spaniards they sing the Te Deum; and when these vanquish their enemies they do the same. These two nations do the duty of the Mussulmans, in destroying one another; and, when this is done, they give God thanks for the evil they have committed. Whence we may judge of the wisdom and piety of the Mahometans, amongst whom there is seldom seen an open war; and if it should happen it is generally condemned.

The rejoicing of the French proceeds hence: The Spaniards had besieged Leucate, a small peninsula in Languedoc, which is but four leagues round, with two ports, where a few galleys and four small vessels may anchor in safety. The place was attacked by the Spaniards with much heat, but was afterwards given over with as great loss; the assailants being obliged to make a retreat, not unlike a shameful flight, quitted their baggage, their arms, and all their provision.

Count Serbellon offered at first to Barris, who commanded the place, a great sum of money, which was to be attended with a constant pension; which refused, they were necessitated to betake themselves to force; by which, in short, the Spaniards were entirely defeated. Serbellon withdrew towards Perpignan, with the Duke of Cardonn's son, who was viceroy of Catalonia. He lost all his tents, his plate, and the money designed for payment of the army: and, I will say yet more, that he has lost the reputation of a good captain and valiant soldier, until he can recover an opportunity to fight and vanquish. This victory must have been of consequence, and very



glorious, seeing the king assisted in person, together with the queen, two cardinals, the council of state, and that of the finances, and that which they call here the Courts Sovereign, which are a company of men chosen to judge others. Besides these, there was an innumerable concourse of people, who testified their joy for the advantage gained by their king, notwithstanding it be at the cost of their brethren of the same religion.

Live happily, and conserve thy honour as thy life.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1637.

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#### IV.—*To ISOUF, his Kinsman.*

I TELL thee I live, and am well. I have received no news from thee ; perhaps thou thoughtest me dead. I salute thee first with my letters, though thou oughtest to have begun. If thou art ashamed of my kindred, accuse thy parents, by whom thou art become of the same family ; but be not ungrateful to them, nor forgetful of the good thou hast received from me. Thou shalt now know where I am, and ought to stay, and mayest answer me if thou wilt. Believe in the mean time the counsel I give thee, although thou dost not demand it. Be devout in thy religion without hypocrisy, and remember there is no more Gods but One ; as also, that the favourite and sent of God is Mahomet his Prophet. After that, love thy master, without desiring any thing more than the execution of his pleasure. Embrace thy father as from me, and give thy mother a kiss, saluting her as my sister and friend, which is the most endearing title that antiquity could invent for persons who had the same sentiments of affection. Live happily, and conserve thy chastity.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1637.

V.—*To the AGA of the Janizaries.*

I SHALL give thee some pleasure in telling thee, that the Christians lose easier than they acquire. It seems, the Marquis Ambrose Spinola, whom all the world took for a great captain, has lost much of his reputation; seeing that a place is lost in eleven weeks which he had formerly besieged eleven months, and where he had expended eleven millions. If these circumstances are true, they are very extraordinary. However, he shall continue a great captain in my opinion; and it is ordinary enough to see that lost in a little time, by the cowardice of one, which has not been acquired in a great while by the valour of a whole army.

The Prince of Orange hath taken Breda, a place of great importance, which had been surrendered twelve years and three months since to the said Spinola, who commanded the army of Spain. This conquest is great; for it was the general opinion the place could not be taken but by famine; yet hath it been constrained to yield by the continual fire and valour of the besiegers.

Had not the Hollanders become masters of this place, they had been, as it were, blocked up on the side of Brabant, and had the enemy always at their gates; whereas now they are more at large. We ought to rejoice rather at their acquisitions than those of the Spaniards, with whom we never had peace.

This place is fortified with much regularity. It hath fifteen bastions, besides some little forts on the moat side. There are five horn-works without. The place is considerable for its greatness. It contains 5000 houses, with great gardens; and there are three principal gates.

I mention these particulars, because thou art a man of war. Receive my letter kindly; believe me thy friend,

and do not doubt of my fidelity. If thou wilt add to thy valour by new merit, which will heighten the consideration men have for thee, I will teach thee a secret, which will not be very expensive, but very delightful. Read at times the histories of others, and particularly those of the greatest and most fortunate princes, and their captains. Imitate rather the wise, than those who have only signalized themselves by their valour. To conclude, be conversant in histories, but choose always the best, I mean such as cannot be suspected for lies. Thou canst not fail of good books both Greek and Arabic, which are translated into the Turkish and Persian tongues. Thou wilt learn to be wise by the folly of others, and wilt become yet more prudent, by observing the sage conduct of such who performed great actions : Above all things, never neglect to make serious reflections upon the least events. It happens sometimes, that passages are found in books that seem of no consequence, which may yet be of use in important occasions, for the clearing of difficulties : and, for example, learn this from a great king, Henry IV. who conquered his kingdom by the dint of his sword.

I will finish with a worthy saying of Marquis Spino-la's, which, I think, is to the purpose : he saith, " That a captain's sword must be tied to his heart, his heart fixed to his head, and conducted by his judgment ;" which ought particularly to be formed by the reading of histories. Love me as much as I esteem thee, and thou wilt never love me enough.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon, of the year 1637.

VI.—*To MEHEMET, Page-Eunuch to the Sultan-Mother.*

THOU hast spent fourteen years in the Seraglio, and, to thy unhappiness, always been in the service of women; serve now a man, who is certainly somewhat more than a woman. Thou knowest, the confidence we have in each other is arrived to that degree, as to discover our failings to each other, and to suffer them. Seeing I am at present far off, and by consequence the more exposed to critics and ill offices, do not forget the interests of thy friend; watch day and night for the advantage of my life. Observe, search, and endeavour to penetrate what people discourse of me, and what is said concerning me at court. Our great emperor sent me hither to observe what passes here, and render him an account. I know I am where I ought to practise what I am commanded to do, but I do not yet know whether I shall return to the place where I would willingly end my days. Most things are done on that side, but they are not all equally performed. I have therefore more just reason to apprehend, that all men do know that I shall acquit myself with fidelity of the orders I have received. Consider how far his unhappiness doth extend, who serves another who is master of so many millions of subjects.

I will inform thee of two things, whereof thou shalt tell the first to the Bassa of the Sea, and the other to the Musti's vicar. We are told, that the King of England hath set forth a vessel upon the British ocean, of such prodigious greatness, that it exceeds all others, as well in force as vastness. It is armed with 120 brass guns, it draws, untigged, seventeen feet of water, and its bulk is 1100 tons. It is reported, that it cost two millions of piasters, and, as if it were the king of all other ships, it is called The Sovereign. The second news is, a prodigy



that happened in Upper Saxony, which finds but a little credit with the wife, but is easily believed by the women and the common people.

They say, that at Dresden one of the Duke of Saxony's courtiers having cut a piece of boiled beef, there issued so much blood out of it, that the elector's table was wholly covered with it, which extremely troubled this prince, looking upon the adventure as a preface of famine and war. Let me hear often from thee, and of our friends ; but, make no confidence to any of that which is betwixt us. Thou shalt learn from me secrets of great importance, provided thou be faithful and discreet. God grant thee in an instant, the good which I shall wish to acquire in my whole life.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1637.

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VII.—*To the Invincible Visier AZEM.*

SEEING thou hast acquired the knowledge of things present, by thy prudence and rare understanding, and hast desired me to inform thee of those things which shall happen in the places whither thou hast sent me ; I will endeavour to penetrate into affairs the most secret, to the end that nothing in this world may be hid from thee.

At present, there are but few actions in Christendom which deserve to be reported ; and thou art sufficiently instructed in the affairs of France, and touching the person of her king. I expect to inform thee of events, which at the same time may divert thee, and instruct thee. This prince is called Henry the Just ; he cannot be called the Happy, for having as yet no son to succeed him, there will be always occasions of trouble in his kingdom ; nor is there any hopes that the queen may prove with

child, by reason of her long barrenness. If the king will resolve to be divorced from her, and take another, it cannot be effected without Rome ; and Rome, the Musli, and all their priests, will, according to their usual manner, raise so many difficulties, and be so long before they determine, that it will be a hard matter to extort from them that consent, which the laws of the Christians render necessary for the dissolving a first marriage. Certainly this slavery, which doth thus subject the Christian princes, is hard ; but it is a point of their law, which being of no importance to thee, I will trouble thee no more with it. This defect of a successor in the King of France, is of great advantage to the Spaniards ; and one would think heaven had created this nation to be enemies to the French. It seems moreover, there is a secret violence which entertains an antipathy betwixt the two nations ; which enforces a belief, “ that there can never be a solid peace betwixt them.”

Thou hast already understood from those I writ to, and who dare hide nothing from thee, what hath happened here during the small time of my sojourning in these quarters. I will not repeat little things : the greatness of thy genius, and the eminency of thy employment, have put thee far above every thing that is not extraordinary, that we ought to inform thee of nothing but transcending events.

I will not entertain thee with the taking of the old town of Sally, nor of the disorders in the new. Thou wilt have learned more swiftly from the coasts of Africa, advices of the hostile acts which the English have committed with their ships of war against that city, which the King of Morocco protects.

The attempt was great, and is discoursed of here as a hardy enterprise. The vastness of thy understanding will easily judge of the consequence.



They say here, that the King of France has written to Rome, that he will willingly resolve to make a long cessation of arms with his enemies. If that happens, this repose will serve but to increase the forces of both sides, which may hereafter render the war more cruel. In the mean time, it is thought they design a general peace; but time will discover to the politicians what we cannot at present divine.

This court is great and magnificent; it stays not long in a place, and is very seldom at Paris; being in the camp amongst the armies, or for pleasure in the country.

The genius of the courtiers is different, but they have an equal inclination for two things very opposite, war and love; and apply themselves to both with much constancy.

The religion which they call Protestant, and which has been the occasion of so much disturbance to the kingdom, is now low, by the surrender of Rochelle, which was, as thou knowest, the principal bulwark of those of that party.

It seems this king will imitate our mighty and formidable emperors, and will regulate his conduct by thine, in not suffering within his state two religions which are opposite.

The kingdom is, notwithstanding, as yet full of trouble. Cardinal Richlieu (who holds the helm of affairs in France, as thou directest that of the empire of the world) seems, as may be said, in the midst of a tempest, and hath reason enough to apprehend danger; for there are an infinite number of people, who follow the standards of Luther and Calvin, who have no other thoughts but of his ruin.

In the mean time, the power of France seems mighty great, and it is to be apprehended, it may in time augment infinitely.

Thou knowest, invincible Visier, what the ancient Gauls did in old time. They were called Gallo-græcians; for having overrun Italy and sacked Rome, they settled in the middle of Asia, and could not be overcome but by the Romans; because the heavens had ordained, that the Romans should subjugate all nations. But now that these Gauls are no more, and there are no more of these brave Romans, we must pray the infinite goodness of the Most High, that the power of these modern Gauls may be limited. If the French, however, would do what a Spaniard, who fled from the passion of Philip II. counselled Henry IV. their king, which was, to set himself right with Rome, to have a great power at sea, and a council composed of wise, secret, and faithful men; by that means, he might one day, perhaps, equal the ancient Romans. I think, he that gave this advice was named Antonio Perez.

I observe every thing with care, but shall observe them nearer for the future. It appears to me, that the genius of this nation is to aggrandize itself, and extend its limits.

The French have a common saying, that kings having nothing above them that may limit them, God hath given the empire of the earth to the strongest. They add, that Adam left no kingdoms to his children, but that they made them for themselves. They glory in certain prophecies, which promise them the empire of the world. In relating this, I tell what they say, not what ought to happen. They entertain here the same hatred for us, as others do, when our power is formidable; but, wise men, who have knowledge of our history, speak with more admiration of the Ottoman empire, than of that of the Romans; and if these last were restored by the civil wars which tore them in pieces, the other will increase and maintain itself, by the great precautions used to hinder them, and by the union of their forces.

Thou knowest more of the extent of that city of Paris, than I can tell thee. It appears to me great, and full of people ; but Constantinople is yet greater and more populous.

Thou wilt pardon me after all, if I make not a certain judgment of a nation, which I do not yet well comprehend. However, I will assure thee, the French are no fools, and, I believe, never were. They do not love novelty through levity, but for reasons of state ; and when they are inconstant, it is not to do ill, but to acquire good. They are happy and unfortunate in wars, like others ; but what is considerable, they do not combat their enemies because they hate them, but in obedience to their prince, which occasions the great discipline which is in their armies. And what seems worthy of reflection is, that they love their king by inclination ; and this love produces in them, that which our attachment to the precepts of the law does in the hearts of the best Turks. I use this comparison, which I learned from thee, who art the wisest man in the world, from whose mouth I have heard, as from an oracle, “ That it is not much material whether subjects love their master by inclination or fear, provided they always faithfully serve him, and are always humble.”

If ever it happen I am discovered, thou wilt do me a great honour to let me know, if I ought to avow myself an agent from the Sublime Porte ; or whether I ought to die without confessing any thing.

I end with my head in the dust, without ever ceasing to supplicate the Most High, that he will shower his continued happiness upon thee and the empire.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1637.

VIII.—To MUZZU REIS EFFENDI, *Principal Secretary  
of the Ottoman Empire.*

THIS is the second letter which I have written to thee. My dispatches hitherto have not been filled with things of great importance, by reason I have not yet had time to learn them. I wish greatly to write what may please thee. Receive therefore what I offer kindly, and be persuaded, that I fear thy censures, as much as if I did deserve them.

I live here according to the instructions which were given me, and live easy enough. The country is good and fat, the men good companions, are frank, and seem discreet.

I have not as yet any acquaintance with the women, and yet it is necessary I find means to introduce myself into their companies. It is a sex that will not pardon, when they think themselves neglected. They are proper to discover things one would know, and to say them when one would have them published; and likewise, they as much penetrate into the secrets of hearts, as the most refined and spiritualest courtiers: Further, there are many of them that can conceal nothing, but what they do not know.

I frequent not the Monks, but when necessitated. If I see them, it is to seem devout, upon design of being introduced by them into the house of a minister of state, when I teach his son the Greek language.

We must not expect to find here the great tranquillity which is at Constantinople. The town is so full of coaches, of horses and waggons, that the noise surpasses imagination. Thou wilt certainly find it strange, that men who are in health, and have no fore legs, should cause themselves to be drawn in an engine with four wheels: but I more wonder, to see these same men can resolve to



suffer the inconveniency of the noise, and of the expence which they throw away out of vanity. The more moderate French, which do not approve of this luxury, say; that in the time of Henry III. there were but three coaches in Paris, whereof two were the king's: but the number is now so great, that they are not to be counted.

I can tell thee no more of the genius of the French, thou knowest it perfectly. There is in all their actions a spirit very delicate, and an activity like that of fire.

It seems as if none but they knew the short duration of man's life; they do every thing with so much haste, as if they had but one day to live: if they go on foot, they run; if they ride, they fly; and if they speak, they eat up half their words. They love new inventions passionately. I can say nothing certain of their fidelity, though methinks we might suspect such, who do not read as they write, nor write as they speak. They love money, which they look upon as the first matter, and second cause of all things: they well nigh adore it, and that is the original sin of all nations.

Paris ought to be destroyed, to enrich many cities in Europe: whence thou mayest comprehend her greatness, her traffic, how rich she is, and how all sorts of arts do flourish in her.

The French nobility is always ready to get on horseback at their king's commands: and they love war so well, that it is to be supposed, we should have enough to do with them, if we were as near them as the Spaniards, and they did not want infantry.

I shall hereafter observe every circumstance with so much care, as well in this kingdom as elsewhere, that nothing shall escape me. In the mean time, I shall endeavour to get acquaintance; but shall want more money than is allowed me to answer what is expected from me.

Two chequins a day, are more than enough to support a man that will live like a cynic, but not sufficient to introduce me into houses, to dive into their secrets, and enable me to discover the affairs of most importance, according to my commission; so that thou must assist me to obtain more.

I hope to succeed in my employment, if thou dost not refuse me thy assistance, finding no difficulty in the execution of my orders, but the necessity of lying, when I pass for a Christian. I fancy I see Mahomet in a rage, and believe my soul lost; though I am from my heart more faithful in my religion than all the Mahometans put together. Seeing I am resolved to do a thing to which I have so much aversion, thou mayest be assured, I will bear all the evil imaginable that can happen to me with firmness, though in all appearance I ought to hope nothing but good.

Deliver, I beseech thee, this enclosed letter into the hands of the most venerable Mufti, and extort from him, if possible, a solution of my doubts. There is nothing that touches me nearer than what regards my religion, and with my religion the service of my emperor.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1637.

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IX.—*To the MUFTI, Prince of the Religion of the Turks.*

I WILL die a true Mussulman, though I should see all the crosses of the Carthaginians set up for my punishment, and had before mine eyes all the instruments of the most cruel tortures that the enemies of our holy religion could invent. But, seeing there is no question at present of dying, but of living to serve my emperor, I beg of thee, sovereign prelate, that thou wilt be pleased



to conserve my innocence, in giving me an ample absolution, or in imposing a penance that may cancel all my crimes.

Paris hath always been the residence of the kings of France, whence it is, that the exercise of no other religion but the Christian, is suffered there ; and those who acknowledge the Bishop of Rome for their head, have the principal management of the affairs of religion ; and it is with these, that the rites of the Latin church are more strictly observed.

I live here, in appearance, as if I were a Christian and a Catholic. I enter into their churches, assist at their ceremonies, kneel before the cross ; and I appear with great devotion and humility before the images, which are had here in veneration.

I know well enough (if the life which I lead be not permitted me, as advantageous to the affairs of state, and the person of the Grand Signior), that I commit sacrilege, acting as I do, contrary to the precepts of Mahomet, expressed in his Alcoran.

I am guilty of violating the law which is prescribed me, and deserve death, if thou dost not, by approving this life I am obliged to lead, assure me of both my salvation and life. It is true, thou hast already given me absolution from all the false oaths I shall be necessitated to take, when they are for the service of my master ; but I am not assured this absolution extends far enough to secure my conscience, when I abuse holy things.

It is thy province to decide this point, which is of such importance to my repose, which makes me expect thy resolves with impatience ; if thou thinkest a faithful Mussulman, who conserves his religion in his heart, and lives, as I do, amongst the enemies of the law, worthy this grace.

The interest of my conscience obliges me to demand after what manner I ought to govern myself, when I see them, who are effectively what I seem to be, practise the same acts of religion.

The French will in a little time celebrate their carnival, or Shrove-tide. As soon as it is done, the catholics think of fasting, having first assisted at a ceremony, where ashes are put upon their foreheads, to make them remember “they were formed out of the dust, and shall return to dust again.” It is at this time they go to hear sermons, their priests explaining that which they call the gospel, and frequent the church more than ordinary.— They apply themselves oftener to works of piety; and having purged their consciences by penances, and secret confessions, which one man makes to another, they eat of a certain bread, which they call The Sacrament of the Eucharist, where, after certain words pronounced by their priest, they will have the body of their Messiah to be really present under those apparent species.

This ceremony is an obligation that good Christians cannot dispense with, it being ordained by their law and by their great prelate, the Bishop of Rome. They commonly call it Confession, and communicating, and keeping Easter. Ought I to hazard myself in committing so horrid a sacrifice, and tempt, as I may say, God by so great a superstition, and so irritate our great Prophet? It may be said, perhaps, that many Jews have done the same thing, and do it yet every day, to preserve themselves more securely: But how many of them have been chastised by visible miracles from heaven, and undergone terrible punishments by the ordinances of the judges?

All these reflections trouble my spirit, O holy Primate of the most divine law. I do not think it lawful to mock the mysteries of any religion whatsoever. The

God of the Christians is the same that we adore ; but their religion is quite opposite to ours : There is a great difference betwixt their Jesus crucified, with all the ignominies possible, as these infidels do believe, and a Mahomet immortal and triumphant, a great legislator, and the angular stone of the first empire of the world.

Give me then positive orders, to the end I may be eased of my scruples, and may believe that what thou permittest, may be an effect of thy justice, and not of a toleration which may be pernicious to me.

It is true, I may wave all these things in feigning to have done them ; but it will be more advantageous for my affairs, not to exempt myself, if that may be without a crime.

Teach then a most obedient slave what thou shalt believe most conducive to the glory of God, and most profitable for the service of our sovereign lord. I do not send thee my doubts to puzzle thee, but to draw from thy great and sublime genius such lights as may dissipate the darkness I live in.

This done, sovereign Prelate, remember thy humble servant, and pray our holy Prophet, that he will keep me from perishing.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1637.

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X.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

I RECEIVED from thy hand the first dispatch that has been addressed to me from the Sublime Porte, and I received it at the beginning of the year, according to the moons of these infidels. The date is of the month Mielidge. Thou orderest me to write to thee of two things, and to do three. Thou wilt first know, if this king be

aged, and of perfect health; and afterwards, if there be any hopes that the queen may have children. Thou wouldest also have me send his Highness the pictures of the King, the Cardinal of Richlieu, and the eldest son of the Prince of Conde.

As thou art one of the principal supports of the power of the Sublime Porte, elevated above all the thrones of the world (after the Visier Azem, whose orders are the rule of the universe, minister and first slave of the happy Emperor of the Ottomans), I ought to do what thou commandest me.

I tell thee then, I have seen this king thrice, nor doth he appear by his countenance, by his hair, or by his shape, to be yet old; neither would it be easy to divine the number of his years, if we were ignorant of the day of his birth; but it is known to every body, that this prince was born the 27th of the 9th moon of the year 1601, according to the style of the Christians.

By this thou mayest justly calculate the age of this monarch, who, though he is in his flower, seems fading, because he hath as yet given no heir to his kingdom; besides, his years being near forty, surpass that of a young man; and it is observed, that few princes arrive to a great age.

The queen may still lie-in, if she proves with child, which, if it should happen, after twenty-three years of barrenness, it is certain, a fruit which hath been so long in ripening, will give an ample subject of reasoning to the astrologers of Europe.

For my part, I fancy this king will scarce become a father, unless he repudiate this wife, and marry another.

It is not permitted to be inquisitive into the cause of this sterility. Hereby thou seest the weakness of those Christian princes, who are subjected to the laws of Rome,



which think it a crime to give themselves heirs that are not born of lawful wedlock ; though it often happens, that when such are wanting, this kingdom is exposed to ruin, by the dissensions and civil wars which on these occasions are always inevitable.

The Most High, who hath always protected the grandeur of the Ottoman empire, hath left the infidels in these errors, to the end that he might give our most mighty monarch, who is the avenger of the divine unity, an eminence superior to that of all kings, who are his slaves, and at the same time made him holy above all the saints in the world ; and permitted us to have children, that may succeed us, from as many wives as we can entertain, the children of true believers being always legitimate.

I humbly beg pardon, I forgot I spoke to thee, who art wisdom itself, and to whom no secrets of the law or state are unknown.

I will send to Carcoa at Vienna, the pictures of the King, of the Prince of Conde's son, and of the Cardinal Richlieu, according to the orders I received from thee, and they shall be dispatched in little time : I would to heaven I could as easily send thee the originals ; I should at one stroke disarm this kingdom, which would thereby be suddenly involved in fire and blood.

The habit I wear, and the manner after which I live, have already gained me many friends. I find means to go once a week to court. My deformity protects me against the jealousies of husbands. Some people take me for a wise man, and discourse confidently in my presence of politics and affairs of state ; neither do I neglect the making use of every thing which may be advantageous to me in my ministry. Thus, in doing a thing, for the which I have much aversion, I compass all I desire ; and

I assure thee upon my faith, if thou wilt continue to protect me, and assist me with thy counsels, I will do somewhat extraordinary.

I supplicate the great God to give a perpetual health to thy body, and make thy soul enjoy upon earth, and in heaven the felicity of the blessed.

Paris, 1st of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1638.

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XI.—*To BEDREDIN, Superior of the Convent of Dervises of Cogny, in Natolia.*

I WRITE to thee, who art venerable by thy age, and so many long voyages which thou hast made; thou who hast been so many times on pilgrimage to Arabia, Tartary, Persia, and the Indies, always barefoot, and begging out of pure devotion to the saint of saints, our great prophet Mahomet.

I address this letter to thee; thee who bearest the scars of five-and-twenty great wounds; thee, who hast prayed nine-and-fifty times in the sacred porch, and adored the holy mysteries in the most retired sanctuary of Mecha, and hast lived more than seventy years of religion amongst the dervises, where thy merit caused thee to be elected superior of the convent in Natolia.

Thou knowest well that I serve him who is arbitrator of the destiny of the universe, I mean the Sultan, sovereign of the world. Learn what I heard here from the mouth of Christians, and pardon me, if I have not sufficiently answered them; but do not accuse me to have deserved death, for having seemingly cursed our holy law, and him that gave it us; and if I have seemed to reject his successors, Ali, Osman, and Omar, it was expedient that I should commit some evil, not to lose the opportunity of doing much good.



Thou knowest well I am destined to serve ; and that being absolved from all the perjuries I shall commit, I may transgress the law by being permitted to lie : That suffices. Read my letter, and learn how far their malice does extend, who are enemies to our religion.

To instruct thee better in what has happened to me, I must tell thee, that amongst these infidels, there is an order of religious much in vogue, called The Company of JESUS : wherein there is an infinite company of men, some more able than others in all sorts of sciences, sacred and profane ; and, according to appearance, ought to be very recommendable for the holiness of their manners.

These religious, who are ordinarily called Jesuits, have the education of the youth almost in all the cities of Europe, as well as in the Indies ; and many excellent wits are brought up in the seminaries they have established. When they preach, the people crowd to hear their sermons. They are the confessors of almost all the princes and monarchs of Christendom, who discover to them their weaknesses, their sins, and the vices whereunto they are inclined ; and receive from them, upon their knees, like slaves, such penance as they think fit to impose on them.

A man may say of them, that being dispensers of penances, they are also the masters of recompenses. They are habited in a long vest of black wool, which descends to their heels. They go not barefoot, but their vestments are simple. They observe great modesty in all their actions ; they march with gravity, never go alone, and suffer not their beards to grow. They apply themselves to edify the good, and to correct the bad.

The founder of this order was a soldier, called Ignatius. The Spaniards will have him to have been of their

nation: and the French affirm that he is of that part of Navarre, which is subject to the crown of France. If thou wouldest have me to speak the truth, I think this founder was a good man, seeing all his disciples are men of good example, of great modesty in their actions, and very discreet in all their undertakings.

This Ignatius began to study the grammar in his seven-and-thirtieth year, which would make one believe he took less pains to become a saint than a scholar. His enemies call his disciples, The Politicians of the Church; and I, on the contrary, call them The Camels of Esau; because, in bearing the burden of the affairs of their religion, they are loaded more than others, and forced to couch under their burdens. There is one thing seems strange in them, to wit, that they should name themselves The Religious of the Society of JESUS; as if they had a design to distinguish themselves from other Christians, and that this title, which is particular to them, ought not only to agree to all the other religious, but to all the followers of the NAZARITE.

If they follow the precepts of their father Ignatius, thou must needs approve their way of living. He has taught no other way than that of obedience to those that profess his order. He ordains, that those who enter into this society, do abandon themselves to the discretion of their superiors: And they affirm, that if the Pope commands them to pass the sea in a vessel without oars, without sails, and without a rudder, they would obey, and must pass. And some having reproached them that there was folly in such blind obedience, they answer, That wisdom ought to be observed in the commandments, and that it ought not to be searched in obedience. Make reflections upon this sentence, which is conformable to our laws.

To inform thee of the power and greatness of this order, it suffices to tell thee, that during sixteen years that this foldier governed it, he saw an hundred colleges in Italy, in Germany, in France, and in Spain; and that in Rome, which was founded by Borgia, hath been, as may be said, the parent of all the rest. Judge hereby the number of their houses and disciples.

Having one day met with one of this society who understood the Oriental languages, and who conversing with me, did not believe he discoursed with a mussulman, I heard him vomit injurious and fearful imprecations against Mahomet, against his law, and against all true believers. I have so much horror to write to thee all he said, that I will tell thee but some few of them; and the rather to divert thee by the knowledge of the errors of our enemies; and also that thou mayest not be afflicted at some things not very reasonable, which are observed in many of the precepts of the law which we follow.— Let this be said, as if I had not spoken it, seeing I pour frankly the secrets of my heart into thy bosom; nowise doubting, but thou knowest to be silent in what may cause my death. This jesuit maintains, that the mussulmans are not wise in following the precepts of a drunkard, who forbade drinking of wine, and committed excesses himself, when he thought he was unobserved. He maintains farther, that it is foolish to give credit to such a fellow, who makes a paradise to consist of beautiful women, where one may abandon himself to all sorts of pleasure and debauchery; and that he hath not foreseen a hell, where he, and all his followers, ought to suffer the pains due to their crimes. He adds farther, that one must be very foolish to adore a blasphemer, who hath commanded his law should be maintained by the sword, when it could not be supported by reason.

The father did not leave off so : he said, that seeing the Alcoran is filled with dreams, with bestialities, with blasphemies and impurities, the musties, the doctors, and interpreters of the law, must be in a great blindness not to condemn a possessed, an enchanter, who gives for the precepts of his religion, the committing of violences, robberies, and all that may satisfy the most irregular appetites. What extravagancy, urged he, to adore the heel of so vile a slave as Mahomet, and to believe, upon his report, that Jacob's father was his porter, to deify his camel, and to place it in heaven ? He adds farther, that there is nothing so absurd as to command the Turks to wash their bodies, when their souls are defiled with filth ; to give them at the same time charity by precept, and to command them robberies by devotion. It seems also to him foolish, to believe that Mahomet is the only true prophet, the only agreeable person to God ; and to swear afterwards by one hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets. He still entertains me with this sort of discourse.

But all this (O great Dervise !) is nothing ; he vomits yet this damnable heresy ; that the wickedest wretches, and the most detestable that ever lived, were Judas, Mahomet, and Luther ; that these two last, as most impious, are the more tormented in hell. Judas, he said, suffered less pains, because, if he betrayed his Lord, he was one of the instruments of the redemption of all mankind ; whereas, the others in damning themselves, damned also an infinite number of other people. This jesuit would have continued his blasphemies, if Cardinal Richlieu, in whose anti-chamber we were, had not come out of his closet to go to the king.

I had been silent all this while, because he gave me not a moment's liberty to speak. At length he asked me at parting, If I was not of his sentiments ? And I answer-



ed precisely thus : My father, if thou art a good man, I approve what thou sayest, because thou speakest out of true zeal ; but if thou beest a hypocrite, I disapprove all ; because thou shalt be damned with Mahomet and all the mussulmans.

The jesuit smiled, not comprehending the venom which lay hid in my answer. But dost thou not believe, thou who art a dervise, the most illuminated, that a man, of what religion soever he be, provided he be a good man, may be happy after his death ? Tell me, I pray thee, thy opinion herein ; it is a point very important to be decided.

As for me, I begin really to think that there may be saints amongst the Christians, as there are amongst us. I have seen and understand many things that denote true piety in some of them ; and we must acknowledge, that the precepts of their law have somewhat of just ; and if they be well observed, they seem no less holy to me than our own. They have one article that puzzles me ; they affirm there is but one truth ; so that we are lost, if we are not Christians, or they are damned, if they are not Mahometans.

And this is what I had to say to thee in this matter ; but I shall not end this discourse without some violent scruples of conscience. Pray the great God with me, that he will illuminate my understanding with inward lights, until the man promised by our Holy Prophet, the man, I say, who ought to be born of his race, be descended upon the earth ; who is to see all kings humbled in his presence, and to unite with Jesus the two religions, that they may make but one.

In the mean time, let us live as honest men, who have sin in horror, like the plague, which poisons the soul ; and apply ourselves, as much as in us lies, to what is true.



ly good; and above all things, let us carefully observe this precept, written in the book of their law, but is not always imprinted in their hearts, "Never do to others, no not to thy enemies, that which thou wouldst not have done to thyself." A duke of Guise gave an example of this to all France; and it is what thou oughtest to preach in the vast empire of the mussulmans. This prince surprised a villain that would have assassinated him, who confessed that the interest of his religion (which was that of Calvin), had obliged him to form a design to take him away, to deliver himself, and those of his party, from so great an enemy. The duke, instead of causing him to suffer the pains due to so black an enterprize, pardoned him, contenting himself to tell him, "Friend, if thy religion obliged thee to kill me, without hearing me; my religion obliges me to give thee thy life and liberty now I have heard thee: Go thy ways and amend thyself." This prince was then general of Charles IX.'s army.

Sage Bedredin, our Mahomet never showed such generous sentiments, when he prescribed in his law this precept against Christians, that had never offended him.— "When you encounter the infidels, kill them, and cut off their heads, imprison them, and keep them in chains, until they have paid their ransoms, or until you find it requisite to set them at liberty. Persecute them until they have all submitted, or are entirely overthrown."

Observe in this letter what may be of use to thee. Pardon, by friendship, the frank manner of writing, and remember Mahmut in thy prayers, who personates a Christian, and is in his heart a most faithful mussulman. If it be in thy power to succour me, never do me any injury. God protect and govern thy great age to the last moment.

Paris, 28th of the 2d Moon, of the year 1638.

XII.—*To CHIRURGI MUHAMMET, Bassa.*

THE queen is with child, when least expected, which occasions much joy at court, especially to the king, who after so many years of marriage, will become a father.

Thou who hast applied thyself so long to the studies of astrology in the schools of Egypt, yet makest profession of this divine art, which discovers thee things the most hidden to thee; who readeest so learnedly in the book of heaven, whatever the stars have traced there; who hast found the moment of their rising and disappearing, with the intervals betwixt these two times, and the causes which render their motion quicker or slower; thou, who penetratest into the most hidden secrets of men, and knowest the seasons of famine, of shipwrecks, of victories, and loss of battle: Divine in God's name, great interpreter of the secrets of nature, wiser than Albumazar and Ptolemy, what will become of this impregnation; and whether it be true, that this child that is to be born, has been more than two hundred and seventy moons in forming.

If thou believest what I writ last to thee to be impossible, say nothing of it; it would be no credit to me to pass for the author of a novel, that has no grounds of truth.

The city of Paris is in an inconceivable joy; and this joy is spread all over France. Thou mayest perceive by that, the passion of this people to see their king a father. It is true they have much to hope by it; but it is as certain they have yet much to apprehend, seeing all their hopes vanish in an instant.

Nature uses all her power when she forms a man, the most perfect of all creatures. But there needs but a slight

fall to destroy this workmanship before it is finished, as well as after.

I have heard a great many people question much the sex and life of that which will be born.

All the conversation at the court, at Paris, and in all the kingdom, is no more of wars, of leagues, of peace or naval preparations ; they all rowl upon the bringing-to-bed of women.

There will be other reasoning in some small time in Christendom, and even amongst us, if the queen do not miscarry ; France being no less considerable amongst other kingdoms, than the Bourbons are amongst men. Henry IV. who introduced the crown into this branch of the family, was a prince very brave ; and if we live long enough to see his grandchildren, we shall see whether they will have as much courage as the chief of their family.

As for thee, thou wilt have wherewith to divert thee, and exercise thy talents, if this queen be brought-to-bed happily of a prince. I shall in the mean time be very exact to mark, not only the days and hours, but the least minutes ; to the end thou mayst know, by the situation of the planets, which ordinarily regulate the inclinations of men, in what manner a prince, so long expected, will regulate his affairs, and consequently those of others.

It is a great while since we have had any commerce here with the sun, there being forty-nine days since this beauteous planet appeared to us ; and the cold is so violent, that it has changed, as I may say, the waters of the Sienc, a large river, into crystal. Do not look upon these effects as extraordinary ; it happens here frequent enough ; for, when the days are shortest, the cold is most intense. Thou knowest that this climate is very inconstant. I have often seen, in a little space of time, rain,

hail, snow, and terrible winds; and presently after, the air becoming fair and serene. This inconstancy of the climate has its advantages: for if the fair weather do not last long, the foul is also of less duration.

Fail not, upon the receipt of my letter, to communicate the news I send thee to the Grand Visier, without telling him the reflections which I make. They are of no use to such great ministers; particularly by us, who are in comparison of them but vile slaves, always subject to the sentences they pronounce of us.

Love me, and consult the stars to know whether thou wilt be always faithful to me; and, if it be by force or inclination.

As for myself, I assure thee, that following the inclination of my heart, I will conserve thee that fidelity which I owe by obligation.

Paris, 23th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1638.

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### XIII.—*To CARCOA at Vienna.*

THE Kaimacham commands me forthwith to send the pictures of the King of France, the eldest son of the Prince of Conde, and of the Cardinal Richlieu. I caused them suddenly to be copied from the originals, by an Italian painter, who passes for one of the best of these times.

These three heads are the principal of France, if not of all Europe: The first, by reason of a great and potent kingdom, which is this day more flourishing than all others: The second, by reason of his nobility or royal blood, and by his extraordinary courage: And the third, by a wise conduct in a ministry full of difficulties; being, as it were, the absolute master of disgraces and recompenses.

As soon as these pictures are delivered to thee, whole and well conditioned, pay the express I dispatched to thee the sum contained in the bills, which he will present to thee from me. That done, send the packet to Constantinople, without loss of time, and address it to the Kaimacham.

I beseech thee order the business of my pension so that I shall not need to desire the payment of it. Send me presently what is ordered me for my subsistence. Nothing in the world appears so terrible to me, as to be obliged to ask.

I have only monies for six days, though I should eat nothing but raw herbs and water. Both cost money here; "and every thing is sold very dear, except civilities and obliging terms, which you have for nothing, and whereof they are very liberal." I must live, I must have clothes, and go to court; for all which there must be bread, cloth or ferges, and coach-hire.

Thou knowest at present my wants, suffer me not to languish with expectation. Thou wilt injure the emperor, and not Mahmut, if thou dost not readily assist his slave.

The great God preserve thy life, if thou dost not forget me; and give thee grace to be sober, in a country where people do not always drink wine to quench their thirst.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1638.

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#### XIV.—*To WILLIAM VOSPEL, a Christian of Austria.*

I AM obliged to thee for the confidence thou hast in me in declaring to me thy losses. Another would have rejoiced in hearing of thy two adventures: but as I do not



believe it is a great evil to lose a wife, so I cannot think it is a considerable good to turn monk. It is impossible for me to forbear telling thee, that I find thy resolution too sudden to approve of it. Thou art not the cause of the loss thou hast suffered, and yet retirest into a convent to do penance, as if thou hadst committed a crime.

Is it necessary thou torment thy body for the death of a wife, if thou hast not murdered her? If thou didst love her, because she was discreet, it is not impossible to find another as prudent. If her beauty charmed thee, there are enough that may please; but if thou wert weary of being a husband, why art thou then of being a widower? Tell me, what wilt thou do at present in the convent thou art shut up in? The Carmelites are wise indeed, but know not all things. It is true, they are very devout, but not exempted from sin: Finally, they are men, and too austere. How canst thou so suddenly accustom thyself to that kind of life thou hast chosen, and become at once chaste and sober? As for me, who am no Christian as thou art, and more restrained in my pleasures than thou hast hitherto been, I cannot understand what I see in that order thou art entered into: neither can I figure to myself, how a man barefooted, without a shirt, covered with a coarse habit of wool, who is no master of crowns, and who hath no armies, should absolutely command, not only another man, but many, who obey blindly what he requires of them.

To live well in thy order, thou must fast; the least faults are not pardoned; thou must receive offences with thanks: Finally, the combat is assured and constant, and there is but little certitude of the crown which ought to be the reward. Thy greatest friend is obliged to betray thee, and thou wilt be deprived (as it may be said) of the elements, to make thee desire the use of the water,

air, earth, and fire. I cannot persuade myself, that there are so many things required to make a saint; for when thou lovest God, as much as it is in thy power to do, and passest every day, as if it were thy last, I believe thou wilt live and die a just man. Return me an answer, and let me know, if what I write to thee be conformable to right reason; or, that I am deceived in my opinion. The friendship I have for thee obliges me to write as I do, and to tell thee all I think that regards thee, because after thou hast taken thy last resolution, I would rather see thee suffer with constancy all the evils imaginable, than to see thee change with confusion. There are many who have abandoned with shame, the places which they entered in triumph; and how many have been pushed by their despair to commit follies which seemed actions of piety, which they had never undertaken in their right wits.

We see in our histories, that many great men have caused themselves to be circumcised, thereby to have commerce with the Jews, and be instructed in their doctrine, finding their ancient temple magnificent, venerable, holy, and full of majesty. We also read, that Pythagoras clothed himself in white, and staid some time amongst the solitaries of Mount Carmel, to learn the mysteries of their religion. His curiosity was the occasion of this great man's voyage, as their ignorance had caused the same design in others. It is not the desire to be instructed, which made thee enter into the convent; the affliction for the loss thou hast suffered, made thee take this resolution. Take heed of quitting it by a repentance, which would prove an excess of folly. The Jews are at present vagabonds, without law, without a kingdom; without altars; and according to the Alcoran, they will be metamorphosed into asses, to carry the souls of the

wicked Mahometans into hell. Who knows what will become of the Carmelites ? They say, Elias is not dead, but is to return to the earth, to combat those men who shall rise to trouble the world about the establishing a new religion. Stay still where thou art, or return presently from whence thou camest ; lest, after too long a stay, to come out in form, thou commit a fault that God will not easily pardon ; which will doubtless happen, if thou persuade thyself, that thou canst not find the way to heaven, but out of the noise of the world.

If thou dost not find I advise thee well, do thou better ; but, above all things, govern thyself so, that God may not reproach thee one day, that a Moldavian gave thee good advice, and thou didst neglect it. The worst of Turks might give the same advice that I do, as a good Christian ; and it would be no surprising thing, if thou receivest better from a Mahometan. These barbarians are sufficiently instructed in morality to teach others that which they do not always practise themselves. Virtue and truth are respected every where. Turn thee from east to west, from the south to the north, thou wilt find on all sides impious men who blaspheme against the Deity ; but true virtue has that of singular, that she is always respected, and even by the most profligate.

Consult once again thy forces and thy courage, and take a better resolution, if thou art not yet well fixed in thy first. Titus salutes thee out of this world ; and prays heaven to give thee the pleasures of the happy, in thy solitude, if thou beest no hypocrite, and if thou hast not yet repented of thy resolution thou hast taken.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1638.

XV.—*To* IBRAHIM, *who renounced the Christian Religion.*

THOU hast renounced thy religion, either to save thy life, or for some other consideration. I do not say this to make thee scrupulous, but in quality of resident in this kingdom, to serve here the Sultan emperor of both seas, and of the two parts of the earth, distributor of all crowns; the grandeur of whose majesty, I beg of God, may last until the day of universal judgment. I advise thee to take heed, not to solicit those infidels, whose religion thou hast abandoned, to run the same course that thou hast done.

Thou hast written to thy brother, that he is become a beggar, because he renounces his God a thousand times at play; and that thou art at present very rich, for having renounced him but once, and by that thou exhortest him to turn Mussulman.

I thought good to write to thee, that souls are not to be gained with a letter and a scurvy jest. Think of becoming a good man after thy change of religion, and give no occasion to the Marseillians to say, that thou art infamous, because thou hast renounced thy faith, and that we are all damned, because we are Mahometans. If thou dost not approve the advice I give, I shall be obliged to acquaint the Porte with what shall come to my knowledge; which I shall do with regret, because thou mayest suffer by it.

The great God make thee rather wise than fortunate.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1638.

XVI.—*To* DICHEU HUSSEIN, *Bassa.*

As the knowledge which I shall have of affairs will augment daily, so I shall have the more matter to write;

and will omit no occasion to remark what occurs, which I will not fail immediately to communicate. Thou, who with great application observest what passeth amongst men, and art desirous of knowing the most secret transactions of potentates; thou mayest observe, that there are more violent enmities betwixt the Christian princes of Europe, than all the other princes of the world.

I cannot comprehend whence it is, that these infidels cannot live in peace; and, perhaps, they do not comprehend it themselves. It seems a decree of heaven, that man ought to be contrary to man, and that whilst there are kingdoms there will be wars and enmities.

The wars which are carried on at present in Alsace, look as if they would last long. The death of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, the second scourge of the Imperialists, who was slain six years since, did not terminate the differences of Germany; they are greater than ever; and there appears in the new generals of the armies, vaster designs than those in their predecessors. Perhaps they will revenge the death of Gustavus, who was killed, not as the Christians affirm, but by one of the forty Germans who had bound themselves by oath never to quit their swords before they had slain him, as the Turkish historians do write.

Duke Barnard Weymar, of no less valour than Gustavus, commands the rest of the Swedish army, with a good number of French troops, and many Christian heretics of Germany. Victory attends the arms of this general; and the princes which are united for defence of the empire begin to apprehend a captain, who observes less the rules of war than the emotions of this valour, and whom they perceive seconded by fortune. But he doth not consider, that in weakening an emperor he doth augment the forces of a king, who will enjoy the



fruits of his labours, and suppress him in spite of his bravery when he pleases. In the mean time, I am of opinion, that it is our interest that Weymar be always victorious. It may be said of him, that he hath sold to France all but his glory, having reserved nothing for himself but hope.

All that this duke can conquer from the Germans is for the French king, who furnishes him with troops, with arms, and with money, besides wise advice. Cardinal Richlieu, who is an able statesman, fails not to persuade his master, that the places which Weymar shall take in the empire with the army which he commands, are the effects of his counsels and his majesty's money. The French begin to preserve their conquests, and know how to defend the places which are subject to their power.

This prince makes acquisitions, which are in truth of more importance than they seem considerable for their greatness. He took Rhinfeld almost as soon as he had besieged it. The place was strong, seated near the Black Forest, where the garrison was furnished with abundance of all sorts of ammunitions.

John de Wert, general of the Imperial army, had relieved it with nine regiments of horse and 5000 foot. He defeated Weymar's horse, took part of his baggage and artillery. The Duke of Rohan, a great captain and great statesman, was hurt, and taken fighting; and the city relieved with men, ammunition and victuals, which rendered the taking of it more glorious.

They write, that two Imperial generals, the said John de Wert, which had succoured Rhinfeld, Enhenfort, as also Duke Savelli, had been taken in a combat which preceded the rendition of the place, besides 30 cornets and 19 foot captains. These spoils were gained by the blood of the Swedes, and sent to the French king; who,

after he had caused them to march through all the streets of this great city, commanded them to be hung up in the principal church, where I saw and considered them as marks of the triumphs of policy. The siege of this place lasted but eighteen days.

The Duke of Weymar, after this victory, marched into the marquisate of Durlach, where he took the castle of Rotelen, defended by the King of Hungary; in which he found great store of provisions, and all sorts of ammunitions, which served greatly for the refreshing of his then needy army.

In the mean time, Duke Savelli escaped out of prison, and retired to Luzerne in Switzerland. The officers that guarded him were accused of favouring his escape, which cost them their heads.

All I write to thee is most true, and thou mayest cause my letters to be enregistered. God grant that Brisac, together with all Alfatia, may fall into the French hands, and that the Emperor of Germany be subjected to the law of the Osmons, "Thou seest the time come, wherein the French make conquests without being present at them." The king of this nation appears not only happy but is so in reality; all things succeeding that he undertakes. His queen's being with child, and the cardinal's policy, puzzle the Spaniards and empire, and Italy itself. What will happen none knows, but God and Mahomet. It is our duty to humble ourselves, and say what we see, and not be so rash as to penetrate into the future.

Do what thou canst by thy intrigues to augment the German losses, for the reasons thou knowest; and particularly to facilitate the Sultan's conquest in Hungary. Assist, in the mean time, the poor and faithful Mahmut, not with the sword that cuts every thing, but by good

counsel, by which we ordinarily perceive the reunion of what the sword hath separated : and I will pray the Most High, that all the infidels bow the knee before Amurath, and that all that breathe may enjoy their lives, but by an effect of his clemency.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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### XVII.—To ACHMET BEIG.

I RECEIVE none of thy letters ; I receive none from the Divan ; and I have none from any of my friends. Italy, where there are so many people proper for war, that province which hath commanded the world, is at this time troubled by the arms of France. The Pope and Venetians, who appear to have the principal interest there, make no advance to divert the storm that threatens them. Piedmont, which belongs to the Duke of Savoy, begins to feel the inconveniences that war draws always with it. That state is in the midst of the Spaniards who attack it, and the French ruin it in defending it.

These last cannot abandon the interest of the house of Savoy, the duchess being their king's sister, and her children his nephews. The French are already strong on that side, having a great garrison in Pignerol, a place very considerable, which they call one of the gates of Italy, whereof they have been masters since the year 1631 ; and their power will much increase by the accession of the fort of Breme, which may be termed a rampart, covering Casal and Vercelle, and which also defends both Montferrat and Piedmont. The Marquis of Leganez, governor of Milan, having rendered himself master of the field, had laid siege to Breme ; and Marshal Crequi, having in the name of the king his master, undertaken the

defence of the young Duke of Savoy, opposed the design of the Spaniards. It is believed the war will be cruel in this quarter, being these are very strong, and the other very expert.

Thou shalt know the event. In the mean time, all the affairs of the French do not appear so fortunate in Italy ; and, at this hour that I write to thee, the court laments the loss of the general that commanded their armies in that country.

There is certain news of the death of Marshal Crequi, who was shot with a cannon bullet through the body, as he was going to view the Spaniards works before Breme. This loss was by so much the more sensible to the French, in that they saw their enemies make such great rejoicings at it.

All men conclude, this Crequi was both a good soldier and a good captain, a wise man, and of excellent conduct. He had acquired great reputation for the king his master in Italy. He slew Don Philip, bastard of Savoy, who challenged him in the fight of two armies. He several times defeated his sovereign's enemies in Montferrat, and in Piedmont, and beat back the Duke of Feria to the gates of Milan.

There remains no more of this great man, who did so many brave things, but the bare remembrance of them.

Scarce any thing of his body, save his entrails, was left for his soldiers to celebrate his obsequies with. His soul is before the throne of God ; his friends honour his memory with their elogies ; his kindred mourn for him ; his sovereign praises him, and his soldiers crown his tomb with herbs and flowers.

The Italians say highly upon this occasion, that Italy has been fatal to the French, and that it will be so always. They affirm, that the Duke of Savoy will lose

his estate, if defeated by his enemies, which he will likewise do by the victory of his friends. But these are the conjectures and ordinary reasonings of men, which I write to thee, to the end thou mayest not only know what is done, but also the discourses which are entertained upon the events that happen. We shall shortly have news of the siege of Breme; in the mean time, it imports the French much, to conserve the opinion had of their valour and goodiiefs.

The business in hand is, to defend a great and illustrious house, which moreover pretends to the sovereignty of the kingdom of Cyprus, troubled by the ambition of kindred, and the politics of the Spaniards. These engagements import much to princes, who have as many maxims as differing interests; but we have nothing to do with the differences of others.

May it please God, that our affairs be alway attended with an equality of good luck, for the ruin of these infidels. Be thou constant in the friendship thou promisedst me, and always faithful to thy friend, who recommends himself to thee, as the law obliges thee to be to thy sovereign.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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### XVIII.—*To BERBER MUSTAPHA, Aga.*

**I** THIS day entertained a man which came from Italy, and hath served in the French troops. He gives this account of the death of Marshal Cregui.

The 17th of this moon, this general having approached the lines of the Spaniards to view their works, and to fight them, in case he judged it expedient, a cannon bullet separated his body in two; and, the bullet being



taken up, they were surpris'd to see a cross grav'd upon it, about which were also engrav'd letters, which made these two words, *TO CREQUI*. This bullet, the cross and the letters, caus'd no less astonishment than the death of this captain did sorrow ; and every man spok'd his sentiments of it.

Many treat the Spaniards as magicians and forcerers. Those who are persuad'd of the power of necromancy, affirm, that the devil can carry a bullet to the place whither it is design'd : others are of a contrary sentiment, and believe there is no power without the commandment of the Great God. There are others, who believe neither charms, nor characters, nor magic ; who, despising all these superstitions, attribute all to Destiny ; and I believe the same. Ahmet Celebi explains this perfectly well in his Journal, which begins in the 1026th year of our Hegira ; when he affirms, that all things which pass here below are effected by the orders of heaven, “ We cannot doubt (says he) but the events which we see, are the effects of the will of God ; yet we must believe, he suffers all things to happen by second causes.”

Had not Sultan Osman irritated the Janizaries and Spahi's, by throwing them into the river alive, when he ran disguis'd through the streets of Constantinople, and found them drinking wine in taverns : and had he not published his design of reforming his militia, and transporting the imperial seat elsewhere, he had not perhaps been murdered with so much ignominy.

God sent him a terrible dream before his death. He thought he saw our great Prophet snatching the Alcoran, which he was then reading, out of his hand, and taking from him by force his coat of arms, and striking him down with such a great box on the ear, that he could not get up again. Thou knowest he consult'd the

astrologers, and interpreters of dreams thereupon. I will not report what he, who was his preceptor, said, for it was plain flattery; but we saw, what was foretold by the astrologers came punctually to pass. These had foretold, that the emperor should never see the feast of Ramezan, because the star which presided at his birth, was much obscured in its conjunction with the planet that was then predominant; which made them affirm, he would die in a very little time. The ignominy wherewith his death was accompanied, was an effect of destiny; for never any of the Osmons suffered so much shame. He had several times seen the fatal cord about his neck without dying. A soldier, in charity, lent him his handkerchief to cover his head, which was without a turban.

He said, all in tears, to his murderers, "Ye saw this morning your emperor upon the throne, and this evening you are for throwing him into a dung-cart, designed to carry dirt into the sea: you cannot live always, and God will require a reason for this cruelty." Thou knowest his resisting of those that strangled him, caused him to suffer much pain. They took hold of him by the secret parts; and one of his ears was cut off, and carried to the Valide, who expected the news of his death. The will of God appears in this adventure; as also, the power of second causes. Thou mayest see all this in the Journal of Ahmet. Had not Marshal Crequi been in the wars, he had not perhaps ended his days by a violent death; and had he not been so rash as to approach too near to the enemies works, the fatal bullet had not touched him.

We see hereby an effect of God's will accompanied with our consent; because we search by our own choice that which we might avoid.

In the mean time, accuse me not of ignorance or superstition, if I have been long in entertaining thee, upon

a matter in action betwixt man and the devil. Thou knowest that by magic art, we number the twelve spirits or angels, which preside over each of the signs of the zodiac, which govern the nations, people, and cities committed to their care. In like manner, in the secret caballa of the Jews, by the twelve anagrams of the great name of God, and according to the colour of the stones where these anagrams were engraved, they judged the future ; performing thereby things very astonishing. They have subjected our bodies to these twelve signs, and divided them into twelve principal members. But how many surprising things are done with the number seven, to which they have applied the seven planets ; by means whereof they discover the secret of the good or evil fortune of men ? Add to this, the invocation of spirits, and the power of figures, of words, of herbs, of writings, of holy characters, and so many other enchantments, wherewith they consult the black angels ; and thou wilt find that men do many wonders by this art, which they cannot do without supernatural assistance.

The little bits of paper, cut triangularwise, which Tockta Cham, the King of Persia's general, caused to be thrown in the night round about the imperial tent of the great Visier Afis (in each of which there was a certain word writ) wrought more considerable effects, than the Spaniard's enchanted bullet, which killed Marshal Crequi. The Ottoman army revolted the day following, as if possessed with furies. The most seditious took and bound the Visier, and made him raise the siege of Babylon : And the King of Persia, who had already dismissed Mustapha Aga, our envoy, with the treaty, whereby he surrendered this place, being advertised of the precipitate retreat of our army, caused Mustapha to be called back, tearing the treaty he had given him in his presence ; and

bade him tell his general, he could not do so shameful an action, as to surrender so important a place to an army that was running away.

Hast thou ever heard of any thing so strange? Read this Ahmet Celebi's book, and thou wilt see, that all these prodigies arrived in one day. The historian makes no judgment upon this adventure, he only reports it; neither do I believe it was an effect of the enchantments of these bits of paper, and the characters contained in them; because it is certain our army was greatly pressed with hunger. But in effect, when Mustapha, all in tears, reproached the Visier, that if he had gained but two days time, he had made a peace equal to a victory; Afis answered him, How couldst thou with thy tears, retain an army possessed with all the devils of hell, and resolved to be gone?

If thou finish the reading of so long a letter, accuse thy patience, and reproach not me with tediousness, for having writ many things to thee, worthy of being known. After the death of the French general, Breme was presently delivered to the Spaniards, by the cowardliness of the governor, who incurred in time a rigorous destiny for it; having his head cut off at Cazal, where they had imprisoned him.

The great God preserve thee and thine for ever; and protect thee against the ill-will of those that do not love thee.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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#### XIX.—*To* MURAT BASSA.

THE Duchess Dowager of Savoy finds herself extremely pressed by the continual incursions which the Spaniards

make into Piedmont : they having besieged Vercelle, a place which covers the country on the side of Milan.

She herself appears on horseback with great courage, being resolved to recover what is lost, as well as to defend the rest, which is in some danger ; having joined her best troops, with great diligence, to those of France.

A Cardinal, which they call the Cardinal la Valette, commands, in the place of Marshal Crequi, those troops of France, which consist of twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse.

Thou dost not know, perhaps, what these cardinals are : they be the principal priests of the Roman church. Their profession is not to command armies, though that sometimes happens, either through want of sage captains, which these infidel kings may sometimes stand in need of ; or for other secret reasons which are not always easy to penetrate, and must be of great importance, France not wanting fit seculars : A Roman musti, called Innocent IV. gave the purple habit to these priests, and obliged them to wear red hats, caps and bonnets, that this colour might always put them in mind, they ought to shed their blood for the service of their church and religion.

I have been told, that formerly there were but five-and-twenty, and now their number is said to be seventy-two ; which is that of the disciples of the Christian Messiah ; but they are seldom complete. I was desirous of being precisely informed what the dignity of a cardinal is ; and an old physician, that seems to be an honest man, instructs me in all things that regard the religion and politics of the Christians : he is such an enemy to the circumcision, that he gives often the uncleanest of all meats to his patients, such as we think unwholesome, and cannot be eaten without sin.

Thou that art a statesman, and obliged to assist at  
*Vol. I.*



council, and in the divan, ought to know more things than others, and those more perfectly.

I will inform myself with care of the life, actions and genius of this Cardinal la Valette, to know, whether the king his master has any other reason than that of his valour and experience in war, to make use of a priest in his armies to shed blood and ruin people; for I never heard the mussulmans did ever make use of a cheik to command the armies of the empire: besides, they are without experience, fearful and superstitious.

The Spaniards are more powerful in infantry and cavalry, having 18,000 foot, and 5000 horse, whereby they pretend to render themselves masters of Piedmont, and drive the French wholly out of Italy. The Marquis of Leganez, governor of Milan, affirms, that his king will not suffer the children of the late Duke of Savoy to be under the protection of strangers. He says, that Pignerol, and other places in the power of the French, were usurped upon the house of Savoy, and must be restored. They affirm, that the house of Austria will hinder the widow, her children and subjects from being oppressed.

Behold here an example of the singular piety of the Spaniards, in favour of a widow and her children; and on the other side, admire the kindness of the French, who fight against these same Spaniards, for the conservation of that which concerns neither of them. It will be difficult to discover these secret mysteries. Every prince puts a value upon his reasons, as he does upon his monies.

The Dutchess of Savoy came accompanied with a great number of ladies, and the greatest of her court. She was on horseback, at the head of all the company, both horse and foot, and harangued the army amidst the battalions.

She conjured, not only the captains, but even the cor-

porals and private soldiers, not to abandon her defence. She showed all the sentiments of grief that a person of courage could have, in seeing herself exposed to lose her estate, or to see her children, in a manner, captives; and upon this occasion, she failed not to mingle torrents of tears with the most charming expressions, which is ordinarily the strongest eloquence of women.

The army being sensible of the dutchess's misfortune, which she had represented with all possible earnestness, the Cardinal Valette caused it to discamp to relieve Vercelle. He forced the Spaniards lines, and put two thousand men into the place. The besieged, fortified with such succours, made a great sally, and much infidel blood was shed on both sides. But all that the cardinal could do with his care, and the dutchess with her tears, could not hinder Vercelle from falling into the hands of the Spaniards. It is said, that the commander of this place, and his garrison, defended themselves to the last extremity; and having no more powder or lead, they fought at push of pike, with stones, and finally, when all was gone, with their fists.

But this is not believed here, it being alleged, that the governor or the general, did not do their duty. The cardinal, say they, failed in his duty also; for knowing they wanted ammunition, yet he did not send it, though he found means to put into the place such a great number of men. But the governor is blamed yet more, that did not discover this his necessity to the general.

I tell thee all these particulars, to inform thee of the manner how the French make war; many of whose over-sights would cost us our lives.

There marched out of Vercelle 4000 men bearing arms. Thence thou mayest judge, that our generals are

not cruel when they cause the heads of commanders to be taken off that behave themselves so ill.

The Princess of Mantau, who has lost her husband, would, they say, marry a prince of the House of Austria, called the Cardinal Infant, which is an effect of the policy of the Spaniards to have a better pretence to attack Mountferrat, and drive out the French, who entered there by consent of the Duke of Mantau, who was sovereign thereof.

The valiant Duke of Rohan is at length dead, in a castle near Berne. I think I wit he was hurt and taken prisoner in the battle fought by the Swedes against the Germans. He was in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was very considerable for his erudition, valour, and experience in war. He was bred a foldier from his youth; was always employed in military affairs, and had often commanded armies. He supported by his bravery and experience, for a long time, the remains of a feeble and dying party against the power of the king. He was illustrious by the greatness of his house; and his religion was that of the Calvinists, called the Reformed. His body was embalmed, and afterwards brought to Geneva, with great magnificence and warlike pomp. This city is the retreat of such as the church of Rome calls heretics, who are all well received here; which gives great occasion of complaint to the Pope's partizans; how reasonably, I will not presume to determine; but there appears to me much more splendour in the ceremonies of those of the Catholic church, and they pretend to greater virtue and antiquity.

These are the transactions in Italy which came to my knowledge. I will not fail to write what passed in Germany these last moons, as soon as I have the certainty of them.

Pray God the many differences and wars which are amongst the infidels, may never end ; that Italy may be humbled even to the stirrup of the horse, on which rides the great emperor of the elect of God, the faithful musulmans ; and that all Germany may adore the sacred porch of Mecca.

I pray God support thee always, that thou never fall ; and so conduct thee, that thou never goest astray.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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XX.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

THE condition I am in at present, makes me think of those long and tedious days we passed together at Palermo in slavery. How fruitless were the tears which the irksomeness of our captivity made us shed ? yet nothing befel us, but what is common to other men : but thou wert too young to support it, and I had not experience enough of the world to conceive the unhappiness whereunto fortune had reduced me.

Thou art at present at Constantinople, where thou hast all thy heart can desire ; and I at Paris, where I have a thousand things to take care for. Constantinople and Paris are indeed two of the greatest cities in the world ; but much differing in manner of living, clothes, language, and religion. Thou art at present in the midst of pleasures, with thy friends, children, wife, with the liberty of exercising thy religion, which is the true one ; and that, in the mosques, which our fathers established ; moreover, thou art elevated in dignity. I, on the contrary, am amongst infidels, amongst idolaters and heretics, obliged to live with a nation much differing from ours in their inclinations and customs. Finally, I live a-

mongst the devil's peacocks. The excessive liberty they give themselves, is not such as is enjoyed with true satisfaction of mind ; seeing they do a thousand things which carry repentance along with them.

The philosophy of the Stoics, which I learned during my captivity, gave me to understand of what importance it is for a man to know himself. Thou mayest remember, perhaps, in the beginning of our slavery, that thy master and mine were no less opposite in their manner of living, than our geniuses were differing.

My inquiry was after books and writings ; and watching did not weary me, provided I employed it in learning somewhat. On the contrary, thou being always employed with different handy-works, didst little think that Heaven had designed thee to wear a sword, and consequently to the employments of war.

How many things did we suffer in those days, whereat we do now laugh ? Thou wert always chained, and I in prison in a den ; thou wert beaten because thou wouldst not read, and I was banged to pieces because I would not embroider.

The reading of Seneca could not induce me to pardon my master the bastinadoes he gave me. That which I endured was greater than the pains which thou didst suffer ; I was persecuted for the pleasure I took in reading ; and they would oblige thee to study, whereas thy inclinations were quite different from mine.

This hardship made me resolve to hide myself in a cellar, without bread and without water. I had nothing but my Seneca with me ; and I was resolved to deliver myself from my servitude by death ; so far had this Stoic persuaded me not to live. “ Thou art so near death (quoth he) and in the mean time art a slave.” Judge the force of my temptation, by the authority of this great man.



Whilst I was thus hid, my master searched for me in vain, in the garden, the stable, the kitchen, and had no less pains to find me than I had to hide myself from him. But at length I chose the better part, which was, to live and to forgive.

My master owes his life to Seneca ; he taught me, so well to forget offences, that my despair changed into respect. I had no more mind to die. I felt my courage fail, and fear made me pardon my master. Thou hadst no knowledge of this adventure, because I went into the country, and thou wast ransomed whilst I was out of Palermo. I was so very intent upon my studies, that my master, vanquished by my obstinacy, gave me liberty to apply myself to them, being himself ashamed to continue ignorant, whilst I dreamed of nothing but of improving my mind.

In the course of four years and four moons, that my captivity lasted, Nero's master gave me the first tincture of morality ; and after that, I went into the academies, where I writ the journal of my life. Plutarch, Livy, and Tacitus, made me forget the odious names of master and slave.

The examples of so many great men whose histories we find there ; of so many emperors, kings, captains, masters, or slaves of their passions : some dead by the hands of their friends by poison ; others by the sword and surprise ; others persecuted by their fathers or their sons, sometimes by their wives, and often by their native country and slaves, so often saved and defended by themselves, disposed me to suffer patiently the state whereunto I was reduced, and to acknowledge, " That the honest man is never a slave, wherever he is, when he can find his master within himself." I had time then to do a thousand.

good things, which I should never have done, if I had not been in the condition I then found myself in.

Consider how much we learn by books, and more yet by the disgraces that happen to us. We see the ill as in a perspective, and the good in little. Disgraces afflict us when they happen; and good fortune when it leaves us. When I was in my house, I lived not at rest, because I fancied serving; and now I am in service, I am in continual fear of not pleasing. How many souls hath Amurath sent into the other world to expect the universal day of judgment! And how many more will he send in this siege of Babylon, whither he goes in person, carrying terror with him, and forces sufficient to destroy the empire of the Persians!

He hath commanded me to observe the actions of the Christians with all possible application and exactness, to give information of them. He will in doubtful affairs have me to write to him my own judgment, and not that of others. He will have me not to shorten but extend my explications; that nothing may be left that will admit of a double interpretation, and will rather have me tedious than appear eloquent by the conciseness of my relations. He orders me to receive the advices of Carcoa, who is at Vienna, and to inform Adonai the Jew, who resides at Genoa, in what is necessary, to the end that all that passes in Germany, Italy and France, may be dispatched to the ministers of the Divan.

The secretary of state, as master of all that is written, has orders to enregister my letters, and examine them. He, according to his capriciousness, or ignorance, may render the exactness wherewith I obey criminal, by saying, "I am a fool, or do not write the truth." This registering puts me in pain; for as many mean things may appear very good at first sight, and are often commended

because of their novelty ; so they may appear also very despicable when they come to be examined, and may deserve a check.

I tell thee what I have reason to fear, without telling thee those things which might raise a belief in thee that I have reason to hope.

Our sovereigns are mighty, and they distinguish themselves from all the potentates of the world, by the impetuosity wherewith they give their orders : and there is no empire where punishments and rewards work so great effects. Thou knowest the rest, which is superfluous to tell thee, and which princes do not willingly hear.

Explain to me better the news I heard of Mussuladdin Aga, of an action of justice of old Berber.

He writ to me, that a creditor to whom he owed for a shirt, being dead, he had put the price into the deceased's hand, and went his ways. This new way of paying debts seems very extraordinary to me. There is an author, whether Greek or Latin, I have forgot, which tells another adventure, not unlike this, of a man, who, not finding his shoemaker alive, threw the price of the shoes he had made him into his shop. If these actions be not done for ostentation, they seem virtuous ; but if out of vanity, I cannot believe that our negligence to pay our creditors, whilst alive, can be excused by the care we take to pay them after their death.

The dead want nothing in the other world ; they are living that have need of supplies in this, and who suffer sometimes very much, when they are not punctually paid. The ancients could never sufficiently describe the excess which men committed by their passions, and the moderns do it as little. They are just sometimes even to superstition, and sometimes unjust even to excess. Sultan Mustapha's charity for the poor was very great. He was

not satisfied, according to the precepts of Pythagoras, to give life to beasts; his simplicity went yet farther, not preceded by any prince or saint; he threw pieces of gold to the fishes, in ponds and rivers, alleging for his reason, that the most secret alms were the most agreeable to God, and that these animals would never tell of it.

Thou wilt answer me when thou hast time and convenience. God give thee the succour which is necessary for thee; and let our Great Prophet be always favourable to thee.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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### XXI.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

MY last letters show what happened in Italy, on the side of Piedmont, which thou mayst have seen at the Divan.

I have informed the council what the infidels have done there, where three different nations, which have but one religion, fight together: The French make war upon the Spaniards, to assist the Savoyards; and these latter would drive the other out of Italy, and reduce Savoy under their power, which does what it can to avoid the yoke of both these nations.

It is to be feared that new troubles may arise from this war; which will undoubtedly happen, if it be not suddenly terminated by a peace. I will only write to thee what I know, and perhaps what is not come to thy knowledge. I will not repeat what I have already written, because my letters pass securely, by the good order which thou hast taken.

The different interests of the princes of Italy, occasion small intelligence betwixt them. As their estates are separated, the one from the other, so they are divided

by their maxims, their-interests, and pretensions. They have, however, but one religion, which they make to serve for a pretext to their designs, which are all different; and there is not one of them which wholly minds his religion, which can have but one only end.

There are few that can suffer the conquests of the French in Italy, because that nation seems restless, and men would not see the Spaniards more powerful than they are, because they play too much the masters. But, however, as the least of these princes have their particular inclinations and secret interests with these two nations; thou art ignorant of those of the republic of Genoa with the Spaniards, with whom they have strong alliances: But peradventure thou hast not been informed of a conspiracy, which appears to have been carried on in that city, to introduce the Spaniards into it, which the republic will in nowise suffer.

The said conspiracy is thus related: The Marquis of Montercy having finished the time of his government of Naples, and being embarked with some galleys, for his return into Spain, came incognito into Genoa, having had a conference in a village near the town with some of the conspirators, to render himself master of the port, and afterwards built a citadel upon the highest side of the Far. . Some of the most qualified were to open one of the gates by night, and receive the troops that should be disembarked out of the galleys. The Marquis of Leganez, governor of Milan, promised to send to Genoa a chain of slaves, stronger and more numerous than ordinary, which, instead of consisting of condemned criminals, who was to be composed of the bravest officers of Milan; and some nobles of the accomplices; who were to share in the treaty, were to receive the troops, and come armed for the effecting of the enterprise.



After a design so well laid, the Spaniards were ready to execute so hardy an undertaking ; when the republic, being suddenly advertised of the plot, caused it to miscarry, without noise, by redoubling the guards, which did not a little surprize the conspirators.

Cardinal Richlieu's creatures give out, that one Doria, called their prince, did dissuade, or hinder the plot, which was profitable for Italy, but contrary to our interests ; for thence undoubtedly had sprung a war, which would never have had end, whether betwixt the subjects of this commonwealth, who would have ruined each other, or France and Spain ; and thou wilt also find, that in preferring the liberty of their country, and keeping the Spaniards at a distance, they will maintain themselves still in a condition advantageous for the commonwealth, and necessary to the crown of Spain.

They say, that the constancy of Doria hath acquired the honour of having twice saved the liberty of his country.

This Doria is descended from Andrew Doria, that great captain who did so many brave actions against our nation, commanding the maritime armies of Charles V. Emperor of Germany ; and since those of Philip II. his son, King of Spain, and who often combated the invincible Ariaden.

I do not believe that Adonai, who was at Genoa, hath writ this adventure to thee, either because it may not be true, or because the thing being very secret, it was in a manner stifled as soon as discovered.

If thou wilt know the particular reasonings made upon this occasion, I will tell thee : That the most advised French believe, that the Spaniards did attempt so fair a blow ; but that the two parties in the city, the one to preserve their liberty, and the other to maintain their authority, did both avoid the conclusion.

The discourse is at present various concerning this republic ; and the French do as much endeavour to make secret treaties with it, as the Spaniards to hinder its change of masters ; it being always of great advantage to such who have pretences in Italy to be in good correspondence with this place, which may be termed the principal port.

The French make a great noise with their pretences upon Genoa ; and they at present revive many ancient histories. They affirm, that the Genoese, when they had differences amongst themselves, have oftentimes changed their laws and their masters ; and that they have been subjected to strange powers : that two Charles's, one Lewis, and Francis I. all kings of France, have taken them into their protection, having also subdued them by force of arms. They add, that this Francis I. continued a great while to send them governors ; and that it was by the valour and resolution of Doria, that this republic recovered its first liberty.

These are the discourses that people make at Paris, the entertainment of idle persons, as also of our politicians. It will be a hard matter to tell what the king thinks, and what are the sentiments of his council.

Consider in the mean time, with what impudence people discourse here ; they presume to decide affairs of state ; they decide and accommodate differences ; they support and ruin commonwealths and kingdoms. But this is no new thing, the people in all times having taken the liberty to censure the actions of sovereigns.

It is not for enlarging my letter, that I write these particulars of the history of Genoa ; but being an ancient nation, which hath formerly wearied the courage of the Romans by their enterprises and opposition, and have performed upon our seas great and noble actions : The Osmons have her therefore in consideration ; and the ra-

ther because we possess many countries, and considerable places that were under their dominion in Asia Minor, upon the Black Sea, and in the Archipelago.

I shall ever recommend all thy words and actions to Almighty God, and pray him to hinder thee from falling into error, and to prosper all thy undertakings.

Paris, 24th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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XXII.—*To the same.*

HENRY of Bourbon, first prince of the blood of France, marching by Bourdeaux, came upon the frontiers of Spain, where he besieged Fontarabia, strongly seated upon the brink of the ocean. His army is made up of twelve thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. The two nations have had several encounters and skirmishes, wherein the loss and gain have been equal on land.

But the Spanish affairs go so ill at sea, that thou wilt wonder at the great losses they received there. The French have burnt two galleons upon the stocks, that were making, and six others entirely finished, which had not been yet at sea. They have farther taken eleven great ships, whereof six were richly laden for the Indies; besides the equipage and munitions of war; with two old galleons that were of no great use. They farther took a prodigious number of cannons, which lay upon the shore, 100 whereof were brass, all with the arms of Austria.

If all this I write be true, as I verily believe it is, we may say, that this prize, were there no more than a hundred and fifty pieces of ordnance, was no mean purchase.

I say nothing of the great quantity of artillery mounted upon the ships and galleons, for fear of troubling thee, with the news of so great a victory, wherein the French

gained so many vessels, and such great riches as will suffice to equip a great fleet.

The prince besieges the place and presses it; but the Spaniards defend themselves bravely, and much blood will be shed there.

The priest of Bourdeaux, which these infidels call the archbishop, was come thither with sixty sail; whereof forty-two are men of war, and the rest attenders; with some fireships, filled with bituminous matter; which inflames easily, to burn the enemy's ships where they can come at them; so that there is nothing wanting in the armies by sea or land.

This Archbishop of Bourdeaux makes more noise at present than the pope; and it is credible that what he has done, will gain him great favour with his king.

He has, with as much courage, invested fourteen galleys and four frigates, which came from the neighbouring ports to the relief of Fontarabia, with three thousand natural Spaniards.

He fought six hours together with this new army, which he entirely defeated, having burnt and sunk all these ships, except one galley, which was stranded and rendered useless. The Admiral of Spain, with eight hundred men, was blown up; which was no small misfortune to the Spaniards, who lost upon this occasion a great number of soldiers and seamen: and it is believed they will not be able to appear before their enemies at sea this great while.

If so many losses suffered by a party, are not advantageous to the Grand Signior, because the other is grown so much the stronger thereby, he will however gain this benefit by it, that the French and Spanish being both enemies to our nation and religion, our affairs will be in greater security, when of two enemies we see one suppressed.

The French publish by their joy and continual feasting, the advantage they receive from these successes. And these infidels have reason to rejoice, their victory having all the agreements possible ; it is indeed great, and their loss very inconsiderable.

They say there were but twelve of the ships of France disordered, and that they lost not above a hundred seamen, and very few officers. Here hath been made a large relation of this victory ; and it is engraven in copper, to the end it may be made public in all its particulars, and the memory of it conserved to future ages. Since the loss of the armada, surnamed the Invincible, which Philip II. sent into England, in the year 1588, to make war upon a woman, we have not known that Spain has suffered so great a loss.

This is the only news I can tell thee at present. So many armies as are in continual action, will furnish matter enough hereafter to divert thee, by reciting the follies of these infidels, who seem to destroy themselves daily, and ruin their affairs to gratify us by their defeats, and make us triumph.

Paris, 17th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1638.

### XXIII.—To AFIS, *Bassa*.

**I**F thou always followest thy inclination, and thy natural honesty, thou wilt be indefatigable in faithfully serving the sultan, and thou wilt not be averse to him that esteems thee, and loves thee.

Read what I write to thee, and publish it when thou hast read it, that the council may know, that it is resolved at the diet held at Stockholm, the residence of the King of Sweden, to continue the war against Austria ;



and that the Duke of Weymar, and the General Banner, begin already to combat the Imperialists. Thou wilt see Spain and Germany attacked on so many sides, and by such powerful enemies, that it is credible there may happen such vast losses to all these Christians, that the true believers will have occasion to rejoice, and to hope yet the aggrandizing of the great and most mighty king of kings Sultan Amurath, master, and absolute sovereign of both seas, and vanquisher of all nations.

This king hath sent an army into Picardy, under the command of Marshal Chatillon, to besiege St. Omer, a very strong place in Artois, belonging to the Spaniards; several villages and towns of consideration being already burnt and pillaged.

The faithful slave Mahmut salutes thee; gives thee a friendly kiss, and wishes thee all sort of prosperity.

Paris, 24th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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#### XXIV.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE King of France hath sent forth another army. I have already informed thee, that this prince hath already three armies in three parts of Europe. There is one in Piedmont, commanded by Cardinal la Valette; another, whereof Prince Henry of Conde is generalissimo, which they hope will quickly take Fontarabia; and another commanded by Marshal Chatillon, which besieges Saint Omer.

The Duke of Longueville is at the head of the fourth, which is entered into Burgundy, with design to ruin the French county, defended by Duke Charles of Lorraine, one of the Emperor's generals.

So many armies, and so many captains march against

the Spaniards. This nation sufficiently manifests her force. She is attacked on all sides, and resists and defends herself on all sides. This vast extent of countries, which the Austrians possess, though separated from each other, is the reason that they are always employed in defending themselves; but they will be eternally exposed to loss, without any appearance of gain.

Thou knowest that the true secret of preserving union amongst the good, is to entertain perpetual differences amongst the bad; and thou wilt see, that all the adventures of this country will render us invincible. What I tell thee is a true saying. The French at present are too powerful, with so many troops, so many armies by sea and land, which are seen in the provinces of their enemies.

The other Christians are in continual apprehensions. The ambassadors of princes, who reside in this town and court, observe with great diligence so many extraordinary things, but say nothing; they do, like me, they write and advertise their masters.

I am afraid thou wilt take no pleasure in the relations I make thee of the successes of so great a power; but I ought to let thee know the truth. Affairs are carried on here with much art. The ministers serve with great fidelity, and are very secret. Cardinal Richlieu hath an entire ascendant over the king's spirit; and to say truth, is a person of great merit. They say he aspires to true glory, and will place the crown which Charlemagne wore, as emperor of the west, upon his master's head. If the good fortune of France marches always at this rate, the misfortunes of its enemies must be excessive.

The manifold wars which this monarch undertakes, and Richlieu counsels him, do in the mean time make the people (who bear the burden, by the taxes which they are forced to pay), murmur; besides their grief for the loss of their parents and friends slain in these wars.

The cardinal fears peace, and apprehends his enemies may destroy him, if they have leisure to cabal against him. Thus he finds his interest in the war, and the armies support his authority.

I cannot yet make any certain judgment of him, nor have a perfect knowledge of his manners, no more than of the extent of his genius, because the man hides many things during his life with a dress, which will be discovered when he dies. We cannot see which are his good inclinations, and it is not easy to penetrate into a discovery of the vices which he is inclined to.

In few words, he has much contributed to the peace of France, divided by diversity of religion. He hath succoured Italy, and manifested there the power of the king his sovereign; has weakened the empire of Germany, by the war he hath carried into her bosom by the joint forces of the princes of the north, and them of France at once; and no less weakened the power of the king of Spain.

Thou that knowest every thing that passes, and hast intelligence from all parts of the world, canst truly judge of affairs; which makes thee know and foresee all that may prejudice the formidable empire of the Mussulmans.

Paris, 20th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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#### XXV.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

ALL is in peace here, the war being carried on abroad. The court continues to make vows for the queen's health and happy delivery. They seem not so much concerned for the king's welfare as the queen's; every body being persuaded that the happiness of France depends on her safe delivery.

I writ to Chirurgi Muhamet, that he should mention the queen's being with child as a doubtful thing, and which might vanish; but at present it is most certain; for she will shortly be brought-to-bed. She lives in great repose for fear of hurting herself; she scarce stirs out of her bed-chamber, and every body endeavours to please her.

There is news from Provence, of the arresting of a king's son by that governor. The prisoner is brother to Uladislaus king of Poland.

It is said that the King of Spain had made Prince Casimir viceroy of Portugal, in recompence of the troops of cossacks he had formerly raised to defend the county of Burgundy. They add, that being embarked at Genoa, upon one of the galleys of that republic, for Spain, to take possession of the said charge, with a small train of domestics, and count Konickpolski, who called himself Uladislaus's ambassador, with the Marquis of Gonzague, his kinsman, being arrived in Provence, and visiting with care all the ports and fortresses, this gave no small cause of suspicion to the French. He staid four days privately in Marseilles; but his galley was arrested at Bouc, the last port of France, by orders of the king.

It is not yet known what obliged France to make a person of his quality prisoner, having nothing to do with Poland; and King Louis XIII. having no particular pique against Prince Casimir: But the secrets of state being only known to them that govern kingdoms, I pretend to penetrate no farther, but content myself to write what they do, and what they say. Thou, who in the absence of the Visier Azem, art the glory of his highness's council, art best able to discover the reason of so extraordinary a novelty.

The most knowing persons at court say, this prisoner will suddenly be set at liberty; and that having no war

that may authorise his detention, it would be unjust to detain him.

The event will teach me, who am ignorant, and them that would divine, that which perhaps nobody knows at present. May it please the great God, master and sovereign moderator of all things, that the intelligences and guesses which I give, may always be profitable and agreeable; and that thy life may be of eternal duration, for the happiness of our great emperor and his empire.

Thou shalt suddenly know whether Prince Casimir be retained longer in prison, or set at liberty. I would that King Uladislaus were in the same misfortune in the hands of the janizaries; and that he, as well as his kingdom, were slaves to the invincible Sultan, king of kings; to whose power may it please the Divine Goodness, and the wisest of his prophets, to subject all the countries of the infidels, and then to place him with his wives and all the prophets in his paradise.

Paris, 20th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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#### XXVI.—*To the KAIMACHAN.*

HAVING given thee an account of the imprisonment of Casimir, I will relate to thee the voyage of King Uladislaus, his brother, who is gone a progress into Hungary and Germany.

The news here is, that the King of Poland was gone to make a visit to the King of Hungary; who, to do him honour, sent the chief of his nobles to receive him upon the confines of Moravia.

They write also, that Archduke Leopold went from Vienna to meet him: they embraced like brethren; and returned together with the Queen of Poland and her



sister back to court. It is added, that the people received this company with great acclamations, with the noise of the cannon, and all the small shot of the city.

The day following, having dined in the Imperial palace, they went together to Luxemburgh to visit the Empress Eleanor, widow to the late emperor of Germany.

If Carcoa hath not informed thee of these particulars, thou wilt receive them from Mahmut, who watches incessantly to give true intelligence, and penetrate as much as may be, into all that occurs and is done in this great court, which gives motion to all the courts of Europe.

Reprove me if I do not well, and punish me if the emperor be not well served, and thou satisfied.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1638.

## XXVII.—To KERKER HASSAN, *Bassâ.*]

Do not accuse me of being ill-advised or negligent, if I write to thee things that thou knowest already. I am only careful in telling thee what happens here, and my business is not to inquire whether thou art better informed another way. When I am ordered to write all that comes to my knowledge, I do my duty in doing it, and I ought not to be reprehended for it.

I am told that the Sultan is gone with an army, more numerous than all the leaves on the trees, to destroy the *Red-Heads*\*, and conquer Babylon; I know that the musti, the grand visier, and all the grandees of the divan followed him; but I am ignorant of what he did in his first expedition when he took Revan.

An old English merchant, who comes from Isfahan, and has served in the army of the faithful mussulmans,

\* Persians.

passed this way in his return to England. He hath been an eye-witness of the great actions of Amurath. He says, that this mighty emperor, after his taking of Revan, left twelve thousand soldiers in garrison there ; with two hundred thousand crowns in silver, besides copper money, to pay them.

He saith also, that our mighty monarch, being wearied to see so much blood of the faithful, yea, of the heretic mussulmans spilled, he had sent the King of Persia a challenge, offering to fight singly in duel with him ; but he would not accept of his defy.

He tells how Amurath being fallen into the water, in passing the river Haret, was in great hazard of being laid up in expectation of the last judgment-day in the other world, had it not been for a young lusty Solack, who took him by the arm, and dragged him out of the river. This accident was the prelude of a great good fortune, which happened to this mighty prince upon the bank of another river, called Mako, where he had the news of the birth of a son, born to him in the seraglio at Constantinople, whom they call Alaaddin ; whose nativity hath been celebrated with infinite demonstrations of joy.

This Englishman tells us farther, that Amurath has taken Tauris, and appeared publicly there with all the marks of a formidable power ; that he had destroyed the King of Persia's seraglio, burnt the public markets, and caused a million of fine trees, which renders the loss irreparable, to be cut down.

Let me know, when thou art at leisure, whether this news be true, and do me the favour to tell me our great emperor's success in the expedition of Babylon. The politicians here attend the news of it with much impatience. It is allowed that Amurath is the most potent of all princes, the strongest man alive, and that only he can vanquish and ruin the kings of the earth.

Two strangers of different nations, and both of royal blood, are dead in this city. The one is Don Christopher, son of Don Antonio, King of Portugal ; who, after he had lived sixty-six years, without ever attaining the crown of his father, died in a convent of dervises, called Cordeliers, where he was buried, in the same place where his father's brother had been formerly.

The other stranger was called Zaga Christos, who was the legitimate successor of the kingdom of Ethiopia ; a young man of twenty-five years, son to the Empress Nazarenne, widow of Jacob, Emperor of the Abyssines, who died in a village near Paris. He quitted his kingdom, as thou knowest, forced by civil wars, and arrived in France in the year 1635 of the hegira of the Christians. After many adventures he composed the History of his Travels, which he performed with troubles and incommodities which seemed insupportable.

What has he not suffered in traversing many kingdoms, Arabia the Desert, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Jerusalem, where he ran the hazard of being arrested by the Bassa that resides there, whom he escaped, by retiring by night to Nazareth, amongst the Christian dervises, where he concealed himself five moons.

He said here, that an eunuch of the Bassa of Cairo, had much solicited him to forsake the Christian religion, to which he would never consent ; and refused to go to Constantinople to humble himself by prostrating his face in the dust of the Grand Signior's feet ; although the bassa extremely pressed him to it, with very advantageous offers.

This king has done much honour to the manes of the dead prince, whilst perhaps he suffers everlasting torments ; which neither thou nor I shall suffer, if we always live like faithful mussulmans, according to the precepts of the law, ordained by Mahomet, and written in the Alcoran.

shall gladly hear that thy life is safe, and my friendship agreeable to thee.

Paris, 20th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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XXVIII.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THAT which hath been so long expected, is at length happened: The queen is brought-to-bed of a dauphin; the king is a father, the kingdom seems to desire nothing more, and the people witness their joy by a thousand different festivities.

The men, the women, the children and the aged, run through the streets as at bacchanals.

They rejoice with their friends, they go to church, and thank God, as if a Messiah had been born to them.

All the priests praise God in their temples for such a present; and the monks, not so content, deafen the people with the noise of their bells, and do more than the drums and trumpets of the soldiers, and all the cannon of the citadel and arsenal. I did in company of others, what I should not have dared to perform if I had been alone, or had not been observed.

Those who affirmed the queen would be brought-to-bed of a son, pretend now they had been advertised by some divine revelation, and will pass for prophets; and amongst these there are many religious. Observe how far their superstition extends.

The court has dispatched many expresses into all the provinces of France, and others have been sent to all the ambassadors, to give notice of this birth to their respective princes.

A priest, who is a bishop, hath baptized this child without any ceremony, in presence of the Chancellor of France,

the princes, princesses, and grandees of the kingdom ; the further solemnity being reserved for another time.

The king commanded *Te Deum* to be publicly sung, being the hymn which is usual to all Christians, to thank God for extraordinary successes.

Nothing is seen in the streets of Paris but bonfires, and fountains of wine, which run day and night.

The people testify their joy ; and the fires are so great on all sides, that it looks as if the city were to be reduced to ashes.

Amongst so many subjects of joy, the king has where-with to afflict him, having been for some days tormented with a violent tertian ague ; and it cannot be but he must have his spirits agitated with so many wars at once. He has armies against Spain, in Flanders, Italy, Burgundy, and the empire in Germany ; without mentioning his naval forces, and the designs and pretensions which he doth not yet declare. Thou mayest be confident that leagues will be formed against him, and conspiracies against his state. The great ones of the kingdom are not asleep ; having long since had designs to humble the favourites and ministers, whose deportments displeased them, and to make themselves masters of affairs and the government.

I have a piece of news to tell thee ; but receive it as coming from a woman, not Mahmut. I seldom send that for assured, which in appearance is not truth. What I am going to say will undoubtedly seem ridiculous.

The women give out that the dauphin has teeth, and the nurses will witness it. Those who easily believe wonders, publish this as a most certain truth. The people who add faith to the most incredible things, raise stories upon this, and are full of pretended auguries.

But there being no law that obliges us to believe that



which we find incredible, thou mayest therefore receive this news as thou pleatest, and look upon it as useless, and excuse me.

They give the king the title of Saint, which they add to that of Just, because of his great piety, in devoting his son, before he was born, to the Virgin (which the Christians say is the mother of their Messiah), with his kingdom, people, and person, which he hath put under the protection of the mother of his God ; which he has made appear by prayers, processions, and extraordinary alms.

This ceremony is ordinary enough with these infidels ; who, by an inexcusable idolatry, devote their towns, and dedicate their temples to men that are dead, whom they call saints ; worshipping them afterwards upon their altars, and invoking them in their distress.

I have nothing more at present to write to thee : God give thee always the grace to be just to thyself and others.

Paris, 16th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1638.

### XXIX.—*To the Captain BASSA.*

THE birth of the Dauphin of France happened this month, whereof I forthwith advertised the Kaimacham. I find myself in a great city where they feast continually, to testify the love they have for the king, the queen, the young prince, and the state.

Joy spreads equally ; the most miserable, to whom fortune has given nothing but tears, do now divert themselves.

The women rejoice yet most ; and it seems this adventure regards them principally. There is not one of

them that would not lie-in ; all the maids would be mothers, and the most advanced in years do not now despair.

It seems here, that God only hears the prayers of the French ; for they believe the queen had never been with child, if the people were not holy. Thus all believe, that they owe it to a miracle of heaven, not of nature, that the child is born, and for that reason he is called Given of God.

If this be so, thou must conclude this prince will be very great, and much to be redoubted, who hath God for his father, and is heir of a great kingdom. To say the truth, France was never so flourishing, besides the great armies they entertain by sea and land.

But that which appears most important to me is, their vanquishing the Hugonots, and defeating the rebels. The birth of a successor does much heighten these advantages, and causes a great happiness to this kingdom. I have my share in the feasting, being obliged to do as others : For to what purpose should I appear afflicted ?

Before I relate to thee a bloody combat of galleys, which was fought in the sea of Genoa, I will inform thee of a ludicrous one in that of Marseilles, which resembled those spectacles the ancient Romans exhibited with so much pomp and magnificence, called Naumachies.

The Count of Alais, governor of Provence, caused four galleys, two against two, to combat, first with cannon, and afterwards with small shot ; and lastly, to board with swords and pikes, which was a fatal presage for two nations, who ran in search of each other through all the ocean, and exhibited a sad spectacle by battles, where a number of valiant men were seen to perish.

Five-and-twenty Spanish galleys appeared on the coasts

of Provence, where it was said they were come to surprise some maritime place. But the Count of Harcourt, general of the armies of the Levant for the king, having given them chace, some of them retired to the coasts of Genoa, where they were attacked by a like number of those of France, which had still followed them since they were seen before Marseilles.

It was the first of this moon that they fought. Never appeared more valour ; never was a combat more terrible ; and it is scarce conceivable what blood was shed. Thou who art a great captain, and excellent seaman, mayest easily guess.

These thirty galleys having begun their combat with their cannon and muskets, the sea was in a little time coloured with blood, and covered with dead bodies. Each galley having singled out his enemy, the fight was the more bloody and obstinate. It is said this battle was seen from the walls and tops of houses in Genoa, which were crowded with spectators, and looked on with the same concern as if they had fought for the empire of Italy.

The victory cost much blood ; which the French pretended to, seeing they took six galleys from their enemies, amongst which was the Royal Patron of Spain, the Captain, and the Patron of Sicily, with eight hundred prisoners ; having themselves lost but three galleys, which were taken by the Spaniards. The following night there arose so violent a tempest, that the sea had well nigh swallowed the victorious and the vanquished. The French lost the Royal Patron of Spain, which breaking loose, retired into a little port of the river of Genoa, where the inhabitants of Arenzano seizing it, restored it to the Spaniards, which, they say here, the French will not fail to revenge.

I am persuaded that all I write to thee is true, because

I have it from disinterested hands, and such as know the truth of what passes.

They add only, that the galleys of Spain having more slaves and soldiers, the victory of the French was by so much the more glorious ; and they affirm that the other had two thousand foot extraordinary, designed for Milan.

God give thee always victory over thy enemies, and make thee feared of all the world.

Paris, 24th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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XXX.—*To the same.*

THEY do here so highly magnify their successes, as also those of the allies of the crown of France, that I know not what to believe, these exaggerations being so contrary to the glory of the Osmans. Having given thee an account of the fight betwixt the galleys of France and Spain, I will at present inform thee of the advantage, they say, the galleys of Malta have had.

They affirm, that this squadron has defeated a very great galley of the Bassa of Tripoli, laden with great store of rich merchandise. We know well, that this vessel and her lading are of good value ; but not so great as the infidels publish. They say farther, that they took upon the coast of Calabria two great vessels, and a polagu, commanded by Biecoe, admiral of Tripoli, who is a renegado of Marseilles. They say there were two hundred Turks, three hundred and fifty prisoners taken, and fifty Christian slaves set at liberty. If what they say is true, there were also a great many brass cannon in these ships. They confess, that the general of these galleys did all that was to be expected from a valiant man, although he had the gout ; and that they lost but eight knights.

Thou who knowest the truth of this adventure, punish so great a lie. It is true, that the Christians have taken the vessels in question ; but it is not true that their advantage hath been so great as they make it, seeing there were no brass cannon, but a few Christians delivered ; and they having lost much more than they acknowledge.

Thou art valiant, thy employment gives thee the command of the sea ; root out of the world this little nest of obstinate pirates, who breathe but by the goodness of Amurath, whose clemency hinders their destruction.

Paris, 4th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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## B O O K II.

### LETTER I.—*To the Captain BASSA.*

WHY wilt thou be more cruel than a serpent, and give me poison, when I send thee so good antidotes, to preserve thee from the mischiefs with which thou mayest be overwhelmed ? If thou beest not satisfied with my friendship, be at least wise with the sincerity wherewith I have given my advice. Thy proceeding, I must confess, makes me repent I did not take another course : I should thereby, in all probability, have put a stop to all thy ill practices. Had I made known to the Grand Visier what I wrote to thee from Vienna, I should have received thanks for my care and diligence, and thy chastisement might have been of good example : But I tell thee plainly now, that I shall be obliged to accuse thee of treason, in case thou continuest thy commerce with the Emperor of Germany's secretary.



What interpretation wouldst thou have me give the correspondence thou holdest with this minister, when I discover that he sends thee continually presents, and receives the same from thee : Be persuaded, every time thou appearest favourable to the Christians, that the pleasures thou dost them render thee criminal to the mussulmans ; for, in fine, what is the meaning of those Persian horses, those Hungarian slaves, which thou sentest, and that quantity of magnificent vests which thou presentedst to thy friend ? What wouldst thou have a man think of that silver Hercules, and cloak enriched with pearls, which one of the faithful receives from an enemy of our holy law ? It signifies nothing to answer my letters with passion and raging : Go to the tribunal, where these kind of questions are to be decided ; the judge will tell thee whether such a commerce is lawful even in times of peace. Thou much exaggeratest the obligations thou hast to thy friend at Vienna, because he used thee well when thou wert his prisoner of war : To this it is easy to answer, That if he behaved himself like a gentleman, thou oughtest to imitate him like a good Mahometan. Should he happen to be thy prisoner, take then thy revenge, and endeavour to requite him.

Again, supposing it should be discovered, that this thy friend has presented thee with this famous cypher, composed with such ingenuity, that it may be fitly called Art's Master-piece, what opinion can the mussulmans have of thy fidelity ? It is known with what application thou usest it to write into Germany, and to decypher the answers which thou receivest. Are not these sufficient signs to show, that the dispatches thou writest, and their answers, are like the Trojan horse, concealing abominable and dangerous mysteries ? Be persuaded, that I had not writ to thee from Germany the letter which has so great-

ly offended thee, on simple conjectures. The secretary thy friend said one day, he must be a witch or a devil that can discover the artifice of these characters; that an Italian, who was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, had wrought twenty years to meliorate this art, and had brought it to such great perfection, that he never saw any body that could understand his letters with the key itself, which he gave them. It is said that this invention is wholly new; and the more admirable, that a letter of an ordinary style, of domestic affairs, of love and compliments, may contain secrets of the greatest importance, without using equivocal expressions, particular characters, figures, supposed names, hieroglyphics, juice of herbs, or liquors; it being impossible ever to discover what one designs to hide. He adds, that one may write in Turkish, Arabian, French or Italian, and conceal a secret written in any tongue whatever.

Thy friend carries it yet farther, and says, he could make use of verses to decypher prose: And this audacious man affirmed one day in the emperor's antichamber, that he would put into French this horrible blasphemy, "The tyrant Amurath will soon die;" which is found in the following verses of an Italian poet, whereof he immediately made a proof: and these are the Italian verses:

Giace l'Alta Cartago, a pena i Segni  
De l'alte sue ruine illido serba  
Muiono le citta, muiono i Regni  
Cuope i fasti, e le pompe arena et herba  
Et l'huom di esser mortal parche si  
O nostra mente cupida, et superba sdegni.

If it appears that I am too sharp against thee, I will receive thy curses without reply: But if thou knowest I have had just reasons to write to thee as I have done, why are thy answers so full of injury? Think better on

thy interest, and be always faithful, if thou intendest a long life.

Paris, 4th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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## II.—*To the same.*

THE small success which we always meet with at sea, obliges me to entertain thee thereon. I shall take no notice of this to the other grandees of the Porte, no not to the Kaimacham, to whom I have not written these three posts. If thou hast received my two last letters, thou oughtest to be satisfied with the care which the faithful Mahmut takes to give thee sound advice. Consider well all the circumstances which are related here concerning the sea affairs.

The loss of so many galleys, great ships, and other vessels, made this year by the friends of the empire, the true faithful, do much lessen the reputation of the Ottoman greatness.

The discourses made hereon by the Christians, are so many invectives against the honour of Amurath, against thine, and that of our nation. If it be by a decree of heaven, that these Venetian pirates have taken this year all the galleys of Afric, we must then conclude that God is offended with us, and does not hear our prayers. For my part, I believe it; but I should not be a good musulman should I pretend to understand the secrets of Providence.

They write from Marseilles, that the people of Tunis, Bizerte, and Algiers, are greatly dismayed at the loss of their fifteen galleys, which General Capello has taken from them this year. Thou knowest how the business has happened; the infraction of the treaty is manifest to all

the world, as well as the insultings over the fortrefs of the Grand Signior. I cannot imagine what excuses the fenators of this republic can make for what their admiral has maliciously done againft us, when they fhall be obliged to give an account of their actions at the feet of Amurath. I fpeak to thee with all poffible humility, and thou needft not doubt but I fpeak with zeal. I believe it is time for thee to oppofe and put a ftop, not only to the piracies of thefe people, but the incursions and continual enterprifes of the corfairs of Malta, and fo many veffels which infeft our feas, under the banner of the Duke of Tufcany, and other infidel princes. Thou oughteft to fuccour thofe people which are friends and tributaries to the Porte, whofe affiftance thou haft often advantageoufly ufed; neither doft thou want means for this, having at thy difpofal the terrible forces entrusted to thee by Amurath; and, with thefe, the magnanimous courage given to thee by nature.

The Chriftians have vowed to pierce this year into the Bofphorus, and put all to fire and fword. Above fixty French knights are determined for Malta, to join themfelves with their comrades, to cruize our feas with them. And thou knoweft the refolution and courage of this militia, and the progreff they every day make.

Believe what Mahmut tells thee. Thou haft two feas to keep, and, if it be true, thou haft made Ali-Piccinino to come from Afric with fo many galleys, defigned to the keeping of the coafts of Barbary. It is not to be doubted but the Divine Providence has ordered it (concerning fo greatly Amurath's honour) that the guilty be purfued, fo that not one of them may efcape his vengeance.

All people fay here, that Piccinino has loft his army for want of good conduct. However, here are great

rejoicings at our losses ; and, if possible, more in Italy, where they feel the advantage of so considerable a prize at the same time, together with the honour of the victory, and where we are hated more than in any place else besides. I beseech God to chastise these people by thy hand ; and that the edge of thy cymetar, in giving death to our enemies, may put an end to slander and slanderers.

Here is an impudent fellow, who reports he has seen thee several times at Constantinople. He with great confidence affirms, the Christian corsairs will bring thee one day, laden with chains, into the arsenal of Venice or that of Malta. He grounds his prediction on that thou art, says he, furious when thou commandest ; and that being too forward, thou canst not obey the orders given thee. He adds, that tobacco, love of boys, wine and women, drive thee twice a-day into a condition incapable of exercising thy reason. He moreover says, thou wantest courage in a land-fight, neither art well skilled in sea combats. I would not write these fooleries to thee, were I not persuaded that they really are so, and that thou wantest neither courage nor experience. I am moreover persuaded of the malignity of thy accusers, touching the debaucheries I mentioned ; and it appears to me more pertinent to write thee this, than to the Grand Visier ; though I must confess I am enjoined to inform the ministers of the Porte of whatever I hear without any reserve.

It is said, that as to what concerns the republic of Venice, and Capello, who commands its navy, that this general will be punished for doing too well ; that this puissant state will be humbled to the kissing the stirrup of our great Emperor's horse ; but it will justify the lawfulness of the prize which this general made, as being no



breach of the treaty with the Sublime Porte, whence come the orders by which the world is to be governed ; and that, in fine, the pirates of Afric are not comprehended in the treaties of peace made with his Highness.

And it is moreover alleged, that should this republic be obliged to restore these galleys which she has taken, it will appear they have been lost through several accidents.

All Christendom is persuaded there is no republic in the world governed with greatest prudence ; which will make her avoid all occasions of difference with the Porte, and seek all ways of reconciliation with Amurath, to prevent a war which cannot be for her interest.

I happened into a company of discreet persons, who blame Ali Piccinino's conduct, and attribute his misfortune to his want of skill, and to his rashness. They affirm, that had he had the courage of a true soldier, he would have behaved himself, not only in the Archipelago, but in the Adriatic sea, like a captain, and not like a thief ; and that God has given him this mortification as a punishment for the cruelty he shewed to the innocent vessels whom he made slaves at Calabria, together with a great multitude of old men and children ; which was an act nowise suitable to a brave commander. And this is the discourse caused by the hatred to our nation, and especially to Ali.

The great God, Sovereign Moderator of all things, keep thee in perfect judgment, and make thy valour renowned, and thy glory proclaimed in all places enlightened by the beams of the sun.

Paris, 6th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1638.

III.—*To the same.*

I WROTE to thee yesterday, what the sense of the world was of thee ; and I write to thee this day what mine is.

Although thou askest not my advice, yet I will give thee such as, perhaps, thou wilt approve of, and may be useful to thee in due season.

Wilt thou be revenged of the Venetians, and all the Christians at once ? Pass over into the Adriatic seas with twenty small galleys ; draw near at night to the shore at Ancona ; and before the sun be up, ransack the famous place of Loretto ; thou mayest carry away thence as great booty, as ever the consuls and Roman emperors did elsewhere.

Couldst thou conceive the immense riches shut up in a little chamber (where the Christians affirm, that a virgin received an ambassador from heaven, under the form of an angel ; after whose words she found she had conceived the Messiah, whom the Christians worship) thou wouldest not defer the executing of what Mahmut counsels thee.

It is reported in this kingdom, as if Piccinino had such a design. Why did not this brave spark then execute what he had so well contrived ? When he was in Afric, he was to ravage all Italy ; and he had no sooner come on those coasts, but he lost all the true African courage. He let himself be taken prisoner ; he suffered a mighty fleet to be lost, and the shamefulnefs of his defeat will for ever blast his name.

If Amurath returns a conqueror of Babylon, which is very likely to happen, and thou takest Loretto ; it may be said, that the Ottoman empire is arrived at its full height, Loretto being the Mecca of the Christians.

There is no season wherein one sees not arrive an in-

finite number of pilgrims from all parts, who come to offer there their devotions, with the same zeal as the faithful go and pray at the tomb of our holy prophet; and they often join with their prayers, offerings of considerable value. A small number of priests of the Roman church have such treasures there in their keeping, as cannot be fully valued: Vessels of both gold and silver, with vestures, and ornaments, and precious stones, which serve to set forth this temple, the most magnificent and famous amongst the Christians; an infinite number of lamps, crowns and sceptres, offered by the greatest princes of the Christian belief; and, in fine, whatever can be imagined most beautiful, most great and costly. Thou that knowest not what fear is, thou canst foresee nothing in this enterprise which may deter thee. The priests of this famous temple sleep all the night long, and spend the day in chanting their masses, and the soldiers designed for the keeping of this place, are few in number, and can make but small resistance: If thou beest persuaded of the truth of what I write, do more than Cæsar; go, conquer, and repose thyself. I have no more to write to thee: I send the Kaimachan a copy of this letter. I have writ thee whatever has come to my knowledge, and thou wouldest farther know, what Mahmut, under the habit of Titus, has discoursed at Paris. I am willing to inform thee, I have answered some people, who have had the boldness to say, "That the Ottoman empire will be soon ruined, should it receive such another blow;" that if trees be not wanting in Asia, the Mahometans will not want ships nor galleys; and that they will have as many soldiers and seamen as they please; if the women do not happen all of them at once to be barren. Thou knowest that after the battle of Lepanto, wherein the great God and our Prophet designed to mortify the faithful, that Se-

lim's favourite maintained the glory of his master, in thus speaking to the Bailo of Venice: "There is this difference between the losses which the republic makes, and the misfortunes which happen to the mussulmans; that when we took from you the island of Cyprus, we cut off one of your arms; and when you defeated us in battle, it was just as if you had cut off our beards, which will soon grow up again; and if women and trees do not fail us, we shall soon have ships and men; but the loss of your arm can never be repaired."

The eternal Lord, without whom nothing can subsist, make the sea always navigable, and without tempests, that the winds may favour thy designs; and when thou hast finished all thou oughtest, for the glory of the empire, I pray Heaven make thee possessor of the infidels countries, which thou shalt subdue.

Paris, 7th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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#### IV.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THIS letter will perhaps prove troublesome to thee, wherein thou wilt find an odd mixture; however, thou wilt have no cause to complain of me; for whatever I write to thee, shall be put into such order, that if the first news be troublesome to thee, the last will prove otherwise. Thou hast received none of my letters in the last packets which I sent thee; and I have found it more to the purpose to make thee know at once, though something later, what I could not write but at three times; whereby thou wilt be better informed than others, to whom I wrote the first notices I had. There is nothing like to patience, as in all other things, so more especially as to what concerns news; the lame post always bringing the best intelligence.

However, I hope thou wilt pardon me, if I wrote only to one person, who is the Captain Bassa, those disagreeable things which I heard, that I might not make a new recital, which would not please ; besides that he is obliged, as well as the other ministers of the Porte, to impart to thee the advices he receives from me.

Thou wilt find by the copy of the letter which I have written, that it is not without reason I am angry with him. My design is not to learn thee what thou knewest probably before me, but what thou mayest be ignorant of, and yet oughtest to know.

The Christians express continually their hatred against us, always speaking ill of our affairs. Although there be no war declared between these infidels and the ever invincible Sultan, yet they cease not to be our enemies ; and thou mayest know by their discourse, they are ever laying designs against us. Thou knowest the usual way of the world is to discourse first of affairs, and then take their resolutions. The French are generally excepted from this rule, for they have executed their designs before they began to speak of them ; so lively is their imagination, and so ready are they to take their resolutions. They do in affairs of state, what we are wont to do in those of religion ; they decide them by the sword. They affirm, that princes who have valour, have no juster tribunal than war ; and that their soldiers are their lawyers. What measures then, most wise Kaimacham, can be taken with a nation which is in a continual activity ? The French cannot remain at rest ; and when they disturb not their neighbours, they make war amongst themselves. The ministers of foreign princes, who do, near the matter, what I do, although they have a character which I have not, are incessantly in action : They watch without ceasing, as I do, on what passes ; and thou mayest assure



thyself, that the Divan shall be fully and certainly advertised of all things.

The Pope keeps here, as his ambassador, a prelate, called a Nuncio. The Emperor of Germany, the King of Spain, those of England, Swedeland, Denmark, and Poland, the electors, and several other princes of the empire, entertain also ambassadors, to observe the motions of this prince, who often breaks all their measures. The states of Italy do also the same. There are, in this part of Europe, princes and republics : These little sovereigns are more jealous than others of their interests, and do more concern themselves in all affairs which pass. The republics likewise use greater precautions in their conduct than the monarchs do.

The republic of Venice has acquired a great reputation ; France keeps a good correspondence with her ; the ambassador of that state living here with all the marks of grandeur, and the same prerogatives granted to those of crowned heads. Neither Persia nor Muscovia, keep any public minister here, yet, perhaps, they may have some that give private intelligence to their masters. As to what concerns the princes of the Indies, they seem not to me to have any interest here ; so that they have, I believe, no agent in these parts, either public or private. If the name of Spy be mean or dishonourable, I know no body that is called one ; for I being unknown, my reputation therefore runs no hazard. I serve, without being observed. But to speak plainly, what are the ambassadors and agents of princes, but secret spies, as I am, who, under pretence of keeping a correspondence between their masters, inform them of what they can discover in the courts where they are sent.

Thou shalt be sufficiently informed by the Basia of the sea of Piccinino's adventure ; he will show thee what

I have written. However, there are sixty galleys lost ; and our greatest consolation is, that we shall not want means to be revenged : If the Christians have cut off one of our fingers, we ought to pluck out both their eyes.

It is said here, that this admiral is made prisoner by the Venetians : If this be true, his confinement must be very uneasy to him. But all people are not agreed, whether he be a prisoner or no ; for some maintain, he is at Constantinople, where he justifies himself with his usual arrogance ; laying all the fault on the renegado, who commanded the Admiral of Algiers.

I have recommended to the Bassa of the sea, the enterprise of Loretto. If thou hast leisure to examine the project, thou wilt find, though I am no captain nor mariner, what I have hinted is worth regarding. The knowledge which I have of the world, of the manner of living of the Christian princes, and priests of Rome, together with the other notices I have acquired, by the reading of histories, should make me considered as a man that is able to offer at great things ; though I have not as yet gained much credit in the world.

The ambassador of Venice, residing in this court, says, that their republic will satisfy the Grand Signior ; affirming, that Ali is a pirate ; that the Africans have broken the peace ; and that the action of their general Capello is just and heroical ; and that Amurath himself will chastise Piccinino. He moreover pretends that the galleys which were taken will not be restored, seeing it will be made apparent, that they have been lost by different accidents : I think he says, they have been all sunk before the Isle of Corfu, by the Senate's order, to prevent the expectation of a surrender, the Admiral of Algiers only excepted, which those infidels have brought in triumph into their arsenal, to preserve the remembrance of an

event, which they pretend to be very glorious to them. But these misfortunes are not extreme nor past remedy, if God continues the life of our great emperor, and thy health.

Paris, 7th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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V.—*To the same.*

THEY have at length given over talking of our losses, but I give not over devising the means to be revenged of the Christians. Remember, that the Grand Visier keeps in prison a man fit for great things at this time, who can do the Nazarenes considerable mischiefs, and procure notable advantage to the mussulmans. If the old renegado of Dalmatia be yet alive, he is capable of destroying all places in the Mediterranean Sea. Advise with him about the destruction of Loretto. There is no Corsary that has done more bold exploits. He has spent sixty years in coursing on the Archipelago and Adriatic sea; where he has made horrid devastations, with infinite prizes. He has likewise most considerably damnified the Cossacs on the Black Sea. He began the trade at nine years old in a little vessel, has been wounded in twenty, or twenty-two occasions, taken prisoner four times by our pirates, and thrice escaped out of their hands; and not being able to fly the fourth time, nor redeem himself by money, he redeemed himself by his religion, which he quitted to embrace ours; and since he has been circumcised, he has brought to Constantinople above thirteen thousand slaves in about thirty years space. He has passed full five years in the cleft of a rock, along the banks of the Adriatic sea; which by his industry he made a sure place of retreat. Here it was that he hid

himself with his men and vessel, like a wild beast in his den; and it is hard to imagine how many snares he laid during that time, for those of his own religion. He has been often pursued, but could never be taken; and his name became so terrible amongst the Christians, that there was no place but dreaded him. But, in fine, having, as it is said, attempted to betray his master, in delivering into the Christians hands the five gallies he commanded, he was sent, by order from the Grand Visier, into the castle of Seven Towers, although his crime was not certainly proved. It is above two-and fifty moons since he has been there kept prisoner, and he is not only very old, but decrepid. The long penance which a man has undergone that has done such great things, and who is accused of having done one ill one, of which he is not convicted, does plead for some indulgence.

I shall never go about to solicit for the liberty of a traitor; yet I must say, that men who have dared to execute great crimes, are often capable of heroic actions. This man was, and is still, at the end of his life; perhaps if thou wilt endeavour to procure him some advantage, and make him hope still greater, he may repair his fault, by performing something for the good of the empire; or at least give some good advice. Thou knowest the ancient Persians had a law, whereby their kings were obliged, not to put a malefactor to death for one crime; and private persons not to chastise their domestics or slaves for one fault. Thou knowest, moreover, that princes should observe in the chastisement of their subjects, whether the services they had rendered have not been greater than their present failings, and pardon them if their good deeds surpassed their bad. These laws, although no longer observed in Persia, yet cease not to be wise precepts; to which if thou hast no regard, yet thou wilt have some

to the zeal and affection of Mahmut. And if thou wilt suffer me to make here a short digression, in comparing the state wherein we are with that of the ancients, thou wilt find how much our monarchy surpasses all others. Dost thou believe, generous Kaimacham, that the Ottoman empire is equal, inferior, or superior to that of the Romans in Pompey's time? Let us content ourselves with supposing it equal, to speak without passion, and cut the course of disputes, which might be made hereupon, and reflect, I pray thee, on the conduct which Pompey held in the war he made against those infinite number of pirates which infested the seas of Italy, Africa, and Asia. He was made general of an army of five hundred sail, with absolute power to do what he thought fitting, without giving any account. Thou knowest his conduct was so prudent and full of valour, that embarking with ten thousand and twenty foot, and six thousand horse, he in forty days cleared Lybia, Sicily, Spain, Sardinia, and in a word, all the seas which depended on the Roman power, from an infinite number of pirates, who had, as it were, besieged the capital of the empire by their incursions, rapines and violences.

Now, although the number of our enemies be not so great, nor their strength so considerable, yet it is to be feared, lest the infidels be one day bold enough (having joined their forces, which now lie dispersed) to fall upon us, and shake the vast monarchy of the Ottomans, which they now often disturb by frequent enterprizes in several parts.

We have an infinite number of places to preserve; we have several kingdoms, populous isles; we command warlike nations, and the number of the empire's subjects are innumerable, which ought to encourage us to undertake no less than Pompey did heretofore, who was called the



Agamemnon of Italy, because he commanded a numerous fleet, as this hero of the Greeks formerly did. But it being already midnight, I am forced to finish this letter, lest it should be too late for the post.

I shall inform thee by the first opportunity, of what has happened in Italy and Germany, and of several other things which I thought I ought to give thee notice of by this express; but accuse me not of neglect, in not having written all to thee in this letter, and receive my excuse, which is just and sincere, and grant me thy favour.

The great God increase thy prosperity, and continue thy health and credit in the dominions of the invincible sultan, under whose glorious reign we live.

Paris, 7th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1638.

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#### VI.—*To the same.*

I PASS immediately into Montserrat, without leaving France, to tell thee, that the Spaniards have there made themselves masters of a little town, which the French could not keep for want of men; and have also demolished the fortrefs which guarded the place, that their enemies might not have any desire after a reprisal.

The eldest son of Amadæus, Duke of Savoy, is now dead; he was called Lewis Amadæus; he was but seven years old when declared sovereign, and was so but few moons. He died four days after the ceremony of his baptism. The King of France and the Queen of Spain were godfather and godmother to this prince. Thou wilt ask me perhaps, how this could be, seeing they could not be there present? But thou must know, that these Nazarenes assist often at these ceremonies by procuration. The Dutcheß of Savoy seems to me worthy of compas-

son, having lost in one year both her husband and her son, and a good part of her estate, and sees what remains to her exposed to the hazards of war; but she has ever shewed herself a woman of courage and resolution. Her second son has been declared his brother's heir, and the states have chose her regent during his minority.

The reason of the sudden visit which the Elector of Saxony gave the King of Hungary, is not yet known. We have had advice of his departure from Dresden, the capital town of his country, with a great train of courtiers, and the three princes his sons, and that he went to Leutmaritz, where this king expected him; and it is farther said, that in the small time they were together, they have had several conferences, the subject of which is not yet discovered. The king has presented the duke with a rich coach, with six stately horses, sumptuously harnessed, and given diamonds and gold chains to his courtiers. But thou being nearer the place of this conference, and the Porte having every where subtle agents, thou mayest sooner get this secret than I; for it is not to be doubted, but there is something hatching against the Ottoman empire, whilst Amurath is at that distance, and the chief forces of his empire employed elsewhere.

As to what concerns the progress of the Duke of Weymar, who carries on the war in Alsatia, there are infinitely different news come from thence since I wrote to thee; but this is what is most certain. After the taking of Friburgh, this general made himself master of the campaign about Brisac, and his army seizing upon all the posts thereabouts, the Imperialists put themselves in a posture of hindering them; but for three months time they could do nothing but spoil the corn, and forage in the country, whereby they wasted their own subsistence. They have also fruitlessly endeavoured to break down the

bridge which Weymar had built at Nurembergh, where they met with such resistance, that they were forced to retire with their army, which was in great danger. But the duke also met with no success in his enterprise on Offenburgh, through the fault of fifteen hundred musqueteers, French and Germans, who came not soon enough to plant their ladders against the walls, and surprise this place ; and he has since made different trials, which have proved all in vain. An officer had already entered as far as the ramparts, with a small party which he commanded, by means of a false passport ; but being discovered by a centinel, he was forced to retreat in confusion, with the loss of some of his men. Weymar since defeated two regiments of dragoons, and two other regiments of horse, and seized on the castle of Mauburgh ; the garrison of which place surrendered at discretion to a Swedish officer. But I am informed, that the two armies came near to one another on the banks of the Rhine, of which I shall say no more than what is necessary.

The emperor's troops being discovered by Weymar's van-guard, commanded by Turenne, gained an high ground, on which fortifying themselves, they sheltered behind a church and some houses, before which there was a battery raised of several pieces of cannon, to keep the Swedes at a distance, and hinder them from encamping too near. Some French imprudently advancing, to discover the enemies posture within less than musket shot, were almost all killed on the place. By this time the Duke of Weymar, seeing he could not draw the Imperialists to fight, and it being impossible to force them on the mountain, where they were intrenched, retired under the castle of Mauburgh with his rear-guard, commanded by the Count de Gurbian, a French gentleman. The next day he joined the rest of his army, and being in-

formed by a Moor that served him, and in whom he put great confidence, that the Imperialists began early in the morning to retire, he immediately therefore put himself into a condition to follow them, making his army to march in battle array. His horse consisted of four-and-twenty squadrons, and his foot of eight battalions, besides the auxiliary troops, of which he made a reserved body.

The French affirm, the Imperialists were the strongest, as having four thousand men more than the Swedes, of which it is hard to know the certainty, but the particulars of the battle are worth one's writing. It was very bloody, the fight being obstinately held by both parties, and the victory long inclining sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another; so that the combatants were ready to retire, weary of striking and being struck, when fortune on a sudden declared herself for the Duke of Weymar, who behaved himself in the fight like a wise captain and valiant soldier. It is certain the Imperialists have lost two thousand men on this occasion, with several of their principal officers, and also above fifteen hundred were made prisoners, amongst which there were above two hundred persons, considerable on the account of their birth and employs. I make no mention of the number of the cannon, neither do I reckon the hundred colours or cornets, nor three thousand waggons laden with all sorts of ammunition, which fell to the conquerors; but I greatly value the box of writings of two great commanders, wherein were found the instructions and secret orders of the King of Hungary, and some treaties made with the sublime Porte, to which all the potentates of the world should pay homage.

It cannot yet be discovered what these treaties contain, yet I shall do all that is possible in order to it. The booty has been great; however Weymar seems not to set

much by it, as aiming at something more considerable. He remained two days in the field of battle, the better to assure his enemy of his conquest. He moreover pretends in his letters to this court, that he had not in this expedition above five hundred foot, and a few cavalry, which out of a bravado, he says he will reinforce with his pages. This is that which our emperors, who are the masters of the world, would scruple to say in the presence of their slaves, so far would they be from speaking so before an army, as this prince did in the presence of a great king. See the vanity of one of these Infidels generals.

In obedience to the orders which I received from thee, I here end my letter, so that thou wilt receive a very imperfect relation of the events which I began to relate to thee; and I shall continue my dispatch to-morrow, that thou mayest the better remember what I have already written to thee, that I may not lose the thread of the history.

Paris, 24th of the last Moon, of the Year 1638.

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#### VII.—*To the same.*

I FIND in the Alcoran, the chapter which speaks of Limbo's to be very long; and I believe, I never wrote thee any letter, wherein there were so many words; thou shalt not receive henceforward any from me larger than the hundred and six verses of this chapter, seeing thou enjoimest me to be short. I have therefore divided this dispatch into two, lest it should prove tiresome to thee; although I believe thou wouldst have found it, when entire, not so long as the chapter which treats of hell.

Weymar lost no time, but went and encamped before Brisac. He caused the trenches to be opened with great diligence; and has so beset the Rhine, that nothing can



pass without his leave. This river is considerable for its largeness, and length of its course; carrying vessels of great burden, which make it much frequented.

This captain perceiving the town wanted provisions of all kinds, used all imaginable artifices to surprise it, or carry it away by assault. It is the capital of a great province, where he is master of several considerable places, and several strong castles, from whence one may say, the place was already besieged.

Things were in this condition, and there was no other discourse in the Swedes camp, but of victories, losses, and wounds, when the news of the birth of the Dauphin was brought there, which caused another noise to be heard. The horse and foot joined their shouts of joy to the sounds of the drums, trumpets, and the artillery, which was several times discharged.

The valour of the Duke of Weymar, and that of the troops which he commands, made not the Imperialists to lose their courage, having recruited their army with new troops. General Lamboye, a man of courage and good conduct, appeared in the sight of the Swedes, having added to his army five thousand men, with the rest of the troops of Prince Savelli, and wasted the country which the enemy was in possession of. If thou wouldest know the situation of the Swedes camp, and in what manner they made their trenches and circumvallations, I can certainly inform thee, having had some time since a very exact draught of it. This camp is three German miles in compass, fortified on each side by a trench sixteen foot thick, with a large deep ditch, a double palisado, and several redoubts. The lower, as well as the upper parts of the town, are mightily annoyed by two bridges made on the Rhine. The abundance of all sorts of ammunition does much hearten the army. The com-

mander, although very ill, yet is incessantly watchful, and seems indefatigable. The soldiers, animated by their past successes, think of nothing but new conquests and new booty, imagining themselves invincible. The artillery which is in the camp, is fifty pieces of great cannon, with which such batteries have been made as drive the besieged to despair. I mention not to thee several small skirmishes which continually happen, yet this is what is most considerable : Some troops of young soldiers of the Imperial army, having taken several cattle from the Swedes, and made some prisoners, had notice of the march of Colonel Sillard, who came from France, and brought a good sum of money for the payment of the troops. They went to meet him, and took it together with several young gentlemen prisoners, all men of note, and who had also a great deal of money about them. At the same time, the Duke of Lorrain, a prince of great valour, who serves in the Imperialists party, had undertaken to relieve Brisac, which he knew was reduced to the utmost extremity ; and having chosen for this design forty companies of foot for a convoy of provisions, and being on his march, he met with the Duke of Weymar. And this is the short of the story : The prince was still indisposed, by reason of his late sickness ; yet this could not hinder him from embracing this occasion, which he believed to be of great importance to his party ; he got therefore on horseback, and marched up to the Duke.

The combat lasted five hours, and Lorrain did all that could be expected from a brave and experienced commander. But he was constrained to yield to the duke's fortune, and retire into a wood, with what he could save of his troops ; and the Swedes courage was not a little increased by so great an advantage, which will certainly

be attended with the surrender of Brisac. The Duke of Weymar remained master of the field, having entirely defeated the Imperialists foot, and put the Duke of Lorraine's horse into a horrid disorder: There lay above twelve hundred dead on the place; and all the baggage, together with the ammunition, fell into the hands of the conqueror. A man would think, illustrious Kaimacham, that the god Mars has united himself with this captain; for notwithstanding the weakness of his body, he performs every day most heroic actions with his valiant soldiers, who are ready to undertake any thing, when he is at their head. Whether this happens from his not valuing his life, or his thirst after honour; yet so it is, that he cannot live without nourishing himself with victories; and he begins already to equal the famous Gustavus, under whom he has learned his trade. Yet he has lost, notwithstanding his diligence, two forts he built on the Rhine; which if he retakes, it will not be without the cost of much blood on both sides. The Germans have already lost sixty thousand men there, amongst which there were four hundred drowned.

The extremities of Brisac, of which we have already private advices, are at present known to all the world. The Swedes intercepted, the last moon of October, a letter from the governor to the King of Hungary, wherein he laid open his condition, and told him plainly, that places which wanted men, victuals, and ammunition, could not be defended but by a miracle; adding, that the best officers and soldiers were already dead; and those that were alive, were either sick, or lay wounded, and so greatly tired that they could do no service; and besides, their victuals would last but twelve days. He seemed afterwards to reproach him for letting the time slip, in which he had promised him assistance; and put him in mind,

he did not believe he could hold out to the fourth of the moon of September, being reduced to such extremities, that he durst not mention particulars, lest his letter should fall into other hands. Observe the imprudence of the expressions; he dares not write all, and yet he writes more than needs, to discover that the place will be infallibly taken.

If thou beest impatient to know the surrender of Brisac, thou shalt be satisfied by this dispatch. The post is now come, which brings news of the taking of that important place; and he is come hither in three days. The place was taken according to the rules of war, surrendering the ninth of the last moon of this year, according to the Christians style. The governor procured very honourable terms; and truly he sustained the siege with all the vigour and courage possible, to the last extremity. He is called the Baron de Reynech: His name deserves a place in the letters thou enregistereest; and that the Divan should be informed of a man who knows so well to defend what is entrusted to him, that they may give to virtue her due. There went out of Brisac only four hundred foot, and seventy horse, who were all naked, wounded, and almost dead with hunger: They were reduced to those extremities, that they had already eaten the flesh of horses, cats, and dogs; and some were said to have devoured human flesh. As touching the booty, there are different discourses; but it is certain, the conqueror found above two hundred pieces of cannon in the place.

But there is a strange story related of a young lady, of admirable beauty, who falling down at the Duke of Weymar's feet, thus spake to him:

“ Sir, I have but some few moments to live, hunger having reduced me to the gates of death; but I shall die

desperate, if you do not revēge me of a base fellow, who has exacted of me a diamond of great value, which I have been forced to give him for a roasted mouse : I am not angry with him for taking of me a pearl necklace during the siege for four ounces of flour ; but I confess my weakness, I cannot see myself bereaved of what I most valued, and die without satisfaction.” It is said this prince could not forbear shedding tears at so piteous a spectacle, this lady dying almost at the same instant she had done speaking ; but it is not known whether he called this hard-hearted fellow to an account for what he had detained.

The siege of Brisac lasted four moons, almost four-score thousand men perishing in the town, by sickness, wounds and famine. Bonfires are made at Paris for so great an advantage ; and the Duke of Weymar’s praises are every where celebrated, and great commendations are given him in the letters from the court. Our empire may have one day something to fear from so brave, so experienced, and ambitious a captain, were he at leisure : But Germany is so large a country, so full of stout men, and contains so many great towns, and those so well fortified, as will afford him work enough, without troubling us.

It is pleasantly said here, that the emperors of Germany will no more sleep quietly ; for in losing Brisac they have lost their pillow on which they rested ; and it is thought, France may one day unite this conquest to her crown. The great God multiply the years of thy life as the sand of the sea, and increase every day thy fortune, and continue thy health.

Paris, 25th of the last Moon, of the Year 1638.



## VIII.—To MELECH AMET.

I HAVE heard here a confused discourse of the disgrace of Stridya Bey ; but thy letters have satisfied me. Thou seest, friend, how things go. He had the prince's favour, and yet could not save himself. He had moreover great riches, and yet was obliged to undergo such great ignominy. He will be more deformed than he was, having now left his nose and ears in the hands of the common executioner.

Amurath, in condemning him to this punishment, has done an act of justice worthy of him ; for the honestest men in the empire have ever wished ill to this proud and insolent Greek. This man, who was but a pitiful fisherman, and seller of cyfers, got this intolerable pride by the prodigious riches he acquired in this mean occupation. His great wealth made him find the means of obtaining the favour of the ministers and favourites of the prince ; and his highness himself honoured him with his friendship, gave him offices, and heaped up riches on him. Thou shouldst know all I say ; but I am astonished thou shouldst write to me, that this wretch having been put out from the government of Walachia, by reason of his insupportable pride and extreme covetousness, should pretend to re-enter on this office by means of money, trying in some sort to corrupt the justice of Amurath. Observe how many ways he draws on him the prince's indignation : The emperor must have been more covetous than Stridya, had he favoured his design ; but it was the decree of Heaven that Stridya should be punished, and that our master should give a terrible example of his justice, to terrify those who use their riches to commit all sorts of crimes, and to purchase all manner of infamous pleasure.

The news of the fall of this slave had in some sort mitigated the great melancholy I felt, when I received thy letter: But the death of Zagabaraschi, our common friend, does not a little afflict me, as well as the marriage of his son Caragurli, made the same day, does astonish me; for I cannot comprehend how there could well be celebrated on the same day, and at the same house, two such different ceremonies, as are a funeral and a wedding.

I find this adventure very strange; and though our friend indeed was very old, yet I bewail him, as if he had died before his time. He was an honest man, of great piety, and moderately rich; and this is what makes mortals happy in this world, and the other too. But thou dost not inform me, whether the excessive joy he had to see his son married to a Greek, rich with the goods of fortune, endued with great virtue, and a mute, has not caused his death. I rather think thou wilt say, our friend Zagabaraschi is dead by some excess, than yield to what we contested about formerly. I always found in this friend great marks of honesty and sobriety; and he also appeared to me to have great tenderness for his son. I cannot, without offending thee, accuse this old gentleman of want of moderation, yet he is dead with a transport of joy. Thou seest, I affirmed no impossible thing when I maintained in my youth, that an extraordinary and unforeseen joy is more likely to kill than sudden grief, though never so violent. Didst thou think it a matter of small satisfaction to a father, that is a wise and sober man, to obtain for his son a woman that is a mute? For what greater pleasure can a husband have, than to have a wife that is not talkative? The Christians understand not the wisdom of the Turks, when they laugh at our sultans, who find the greatest part of their pleasure in the conversation of mutes. Is there any

thing more delightful than to hear a man that does not speak, and to see one that has no tongue reason on all things? Thou knowest how many things these mutes of the seraglio do give one to understand, and what eloquence there is in their signs and gestures. Thou rememberest, that when Amurath would give thanks to the sovereign Moderator of all the world, in that he had escaped death, when the lightening fell on his bed, and burnt to his very shirt, he seemed to offer him a great sacrifice, in putting a mute out of the seraglio, which he dearly loved by reason of her tricks and gestures. The Muses were one day ready to fall together fighting, because they would not receive amongst them a tenth companion, sent them by a Mandamus from a king of Italy; but when this tenth Muse signified to them that she was dumb, all the voices were for her. Dear Melech, it is not without reason I write thee this. Thou art still young, and designest for matrimony: Believe Mahmut, there are few women that are wise, and they say little that is good: Think then what those say, who know nothing, and whose number is infinite. When they have talked a whole day, believe me, they have said nothing. If thou marriest, follow my counsel, take not a mute, for then thou wilt marry a beast; neither choose one that talketh, for thou wilt be linked with a monster. As to our friend, he died by a particular grace from heaven: Yet I cannot but think still of his death. How many more extraordinary accidents wilt thou see, if thou livest to old age, and especially if thou livest at Constantinople, where are continually beheld strange adventures, and extraordinary effects, both of life and death, cruelty and clemency, as well as of good and bad fortune. Being in breath, I could continue still to write to thee, but I think it is time to end, lest I prove tiresome;

and I end in praying heaven to keep thee in health, wherever thou art.

Paris, 25th of the last Moon, of the year 1638.

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IX.—*To the same.*

PARIS, where I live, is a very healthful city, and so are all the places thereabouts, free from pestilential airs; and yet there oft happens sudden deaths as well as at Constantinople; and they die here likewise of joy. I will relate to thee what I have partly seen, and not what I have heard, to happen in London, the most ancient and chiefest city of the kingdom of England: A rich old man falling sick, and lying on his deathbed, sent to his only son, living at Paris, where he spent his time in pleasure, to come over, that he might, with his estate, give him his blessing. Think what news this was to a young man, to whom the life of a father was troublesome, as being an obstacle to his liberty, and who waited his death, to take his swing of all the pleasures which his corrupt nature makes him respect as his sovereign good. This young man intending to get upon horseback to run where he was called, found himself embarked for a voyage which he did not design to make; he fell dead on the place, and I saw him in the same instant, wherein he was living and healthful, to expire. Were I of the sect of our philosopher Muslaadin Saadi, I would tell thee it matters not, whether one dies suddenly, or languish a long time; whether a man dies in his bed, or at the gallows. But I being none of Zeno's disciples, and knowing no Peripatetick, or philosopher, amongst so many sects that were in Greece, who disputed whether life or death is to be preferred; so expect not from me any ar-

guings on the morals of those Greeks, nor yet of the Persians. But if death be such a terrible thing, endeavour to live in such a manner that it may never affright thee when it shall approach thee, or when thou shalt see it invade others, expecting it at all times, and in all places. Dost thou know by what herb, or by what secret magic charm I do not fear it? It is by the leading of an innocent life.

Here is published, and that with great reason, the last words of a man of great birth, who died when he was very old, by a wound he received. He had served divers kings in places of the highest trust; and being mortally wounded in a battle, mark what he said to those that exhorted him to die like a good Christian, and with the same courage he had shewed in his life; his reply was—“That a man who had lived well fourscore years, cannot be to seek how to die well for a quarter of an hour.” This great man, who was a famous soldier, was also a true philosopher, and I might say he was a saint, had he been of our religion. I believe he was a most edifying spectacle, and the more considerable, in as much as the example he gave of dying well, is more valuable than that which he gave in so many battles of courageous fighting. He was called Anne de Montmorancy, constable of France; whose life I had the curiosity of reading, being to be found in the history of the civil wars of that kingdom.

But before I end this letter, let me denote to thee the difference there is between the effects of grief and joy. The messenger from England, of whom I already spake, finding at his return the old man, whom he had left dying, still alive, he gave him such a strange stroke, by telling to him the death of his son, that grief having vanquished the assault of death, restored to this unhappy old man that strength he had lost in his sickness; so that



coming himself some days after to Paris, I saw him bewail the loss of his only son.

He that said heretofore, A man should learn all his life to die well, uttered no strange doctrine. Our days will last long enough, if we be ready to say at all times, We have lived enough ; and if we love as we ought our great emperor, who is invincible, holy, and the most just amongst men ; and if we observe what a French peasant said to all those that passed before his door, Never deny your assistance, and never do any body any hurt.

Let thou and I number our days (as was preached heretofore in the seraglio, to the white eunuchs by the Persian, whose eyes were put out because he saw too clearly). He always insisted on the shortness, uncertainty, and vanity of human life. He said, “ It was short, considering what we had to do in it ; uncertain as to what we shall do in it ; and always mixed with what we have done, and what remains for us to do.” Teach not thy son Mehemet yet, for whom thou hast so much affection, these precepts. Children have not that ripeness of judgment, as is necessary to hear discourses of death ; they are too hard bits for their stomachs, and which indeed old men can hardly digest, and which they swallow not without feeling all the bitterness of them.

I pray God keep the imperial city, with those that dwell in it, and shelter it from the storms which fall on infamous cities ; and I beseech him thou mayest live without offence, that thou mayest never fear death.

Paris, 25th of the last Moon, of the Year 1638.

X.—To ENGURULI EMIN MEHEMET CHEIK, a *Man of the Law*.

WHEN I parted from Constantinople I gave thee a stone of excellent virtue against the gravel, and thou presentedst me with a paper which was to secure me against all bodily evils. Time only can decide which of us two made the best present to his friend. Thou hast pretended to teach me in few words how to live amongst the infidels; and I thought in giving thee a stone, to give thee a remedy against the distemper thou art troubled with. I never turn myself towards the place where Mecca lies, but I remember where thy amity began, and how far since it has been extended towards me. Absence has not lessened thy kindness, nor hindered thee from sending me thy grave counsels; but I am as yet too young to set about the preparing myself for the other world; and too vigorous and healthful to hearken to thy serious and melancholy discourses.

I wish thou wert but at Paris, where thou wouldest see a great number of people, who sell a most precious thing to purchase a vain and fantastic title. How many with great earnestness sue for *placeats* from the king, that they may seek their deaths! Perhaps thou never thoughtest there were any such kind of people. What dost thou think then of the soldiery in general? Are they any other than martyrs of ambition, to whom one would think life is a burden? It is a sad spectacle to see how many dead lie in the streets, or carried on the shoulders of their friends or kinsmen to their graves: Yet this is so common a thing in Paris that the people make no wonder of it.

This way of living obliges me to do as the rest. I begin to consider, that what happens to another may hap-

pen to me ; there is no avoiding one's destiny. This preface is only to bring in a story of this king's goodness, which ought to be an example to all princes.

The French have need of fresh soldiers to fill up so many troops as they continually entertain : Not long since then, there came a man full of years, and overwhelmed with despair, who desired to be lifted in this prince's service. To obtain what he desired, he told the king, " That he was the father of twelve children, seven of which were daughters, who were marriageable ; that he could no longer live, not being able to maintain such a great family ; and that being ignorant as yet how to die, he would learn it in the king's service." The prince having appointed him to wait upon him one day privately in his closet, thus spake to him : " Thy despair makes thee desirous to be lifted amongst my soldiers, and charity obliges me to retain thee amongst the citizens. Those that are fools when they enter into troops, commonly come out wiser ; because they learn several things of which they were before ignorant : But as to thy part, what time hast thou to learn, who art ready to fall dead at the same moment thou enterest into the school ? Yet I receive thee ; take this sword, go and combat thy folly, and take this purse to succour thy family, and be cured ; but if thou art wise, say not from whom thou hast received thy cure." I know not what sum was in the purse, no more than I do of what metal the sword was. But I have this story from an officer of the king's closet, with whom I have that strict converse, that he told me this passage as soon as ever it happened.

I will tell thee, if thou wilt, some of the principal passages of my life ; for I conceal nothing from the ministers and the most venerable musti, who knows all that I do : I adore the Sovereign Master of the universe, and

have a great veneration for his holy Prophet : I never defiled my hands in blood, neither have I ever violated any man's bed : I easily forgive my enemies, and hate above all things the crime of slandering. If this be not sufficient to merit salvation, I do not know what is. These are all my virtues, as to other qualifications I have none. I have no knack at thieving ; my talents lie not that way ; were I qualified, I might, as most do, devise means to put my art in practice. But living according to these aforementioned maxims, I doubt not but I shall find entrance into that paradise where faithful souls will enjoy perfect happiness, and set their feet on the necks of the enemies of our holy law ; where they shall suffer neither hunger, thirst, nor nakedness, free from the parching heats of the sun, and the pinching sharpness of the colds, caused by the moon ; where, under the agreeable shade of trees, they shall gather the preciouslest fruit, standing, sitting, or lying, and drink in cups of gold, or emerald, the most delicious liquors, which spring from a clear fountain, and be served with inconceivable magnificence. In this divine place they shall be more beautiful and shining than the stars in the firmament, whose brightness enlightens the darkest night ; their robes shall be of finest silk, of a colour more green and pleasing to the eye than the herbs which spring up in May ; and shall further receive from the hands of God a potion more sweet and delicious than can be imagined, as a recompense for the good they have done during their abode amongst men. Thou knowest it is impossible for me to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, seeing I am obliged to abide at Paris. Thou knowest also I cannot give myself to contemplation, being forced to lead an active life ; for I must not remain among the dervises who pass their days in solitude, serving in France, as I must do, our puissant

and invincible emperor. Thou seest here what my condition will bear ; accuse me not, therefore, for neglecting the pious advices thou givest me. I forget not so much death, as I forget that I must die.

Be informed of this from me, there is not a town in the world where people do learn better to live ill than at Paris ; neither is there any place where they are better taught to die. I need not tell thee, here are public academies (as were heretofore amongst the Egyptians) wherein dead bodies lie exposed to public view, to make men remember the indispensable necessity of dying. But I may tell thee, there is no day, wherein, in this great town, a great quantity of fools do not teach wiser than themselves things they have been ever ignorant of ; for the gibbets and scaffolds set up for the punishment of the guilty, hinder the destruction of a great many people, whose innocency is preserved by these kind of spectacles. Here the poor, who had heretofore plentiful subsistences, teach good husbandry ; the proud, humility ; the debauched with women, chastity.

I believe there is no part of the world where there are more thieves and pickpockets, and who do their work with greater art and subtilty : They exercise their craft in all places, in the churches, as well as the streets, markets and bridges ; so that our people of the Morea, who are thought by us to be such great masters in this science, are mere asses to them. Adieu.

Paris, 10th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1639.

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#### XI.—*To CARA HALY, the Physician.*

I KNOW not whether what I thought I saw last night in my bed be the effects of a dream, or of a real vision. I



was awaked by a great earthquake, which made me rise affrighted out of my bed. But informing myself by some people, I found it was but a dream.

My adventure has renewed the remembrance of one, which proved of sad consequence to one part of Italy. Physicians are at a loss to find out the causes of those horrible fires which are vomited up at certain times by Mount Gibel, Stromboli and Vesuvius, mountains in Sicily, not far from Naples, whose roots seem to spring from hell; whence arise often filthy exhalations, smoaks and sulphur, with flames which cast up stones and ashes to the clouds.

-It is known, I believe, at Constantinople, that towards the beginning of the moon of February, there was lost near Naples a little island that had four miles in compass. It is related as a thing certain, that after this isle, was suddenly swallowed down into the sea, the fire which it included, not finding its usual vent, there was opened some days after, a new way along the coasts of Calabria, near Messina. There did it appear, having first caused an horrible earthquake, which overthrew a great pile of building, which the Christians call a steeple, that belonged to a principal church, which buried under its ruins a vast number of people, whom devotion had at that time brought thither. Some towns of the kingdom of Naples suffered by this earthquake, with great multitudes of people, and herds of cattle, which were miserably lost in the fire by the smoke and heaps of ashes; and amongst those that have been smothered to death are reckoned several lords of those countries, who are masters but of few subjects, and yet bear the title of princes.

My dear friend, Cara Haly, these are dreadful effects of nature, whose causes will not be found out by us. Certainly these countries of Italy must be far from paradise,

seeing these mouths of hell (if it be true, as many people say, they are in these mountains) do frequently ruin by these irruptions Calabria and Sicily. Naturalists affirm, that these mountains nourish sulphureous matter in their bowels, which is easily inflamed, and issues out with more or less vehemency, and more or less frequency, according as the matter is more or less disposed, and the subterranean winds kindle and eject these fires, and open the mass of earth, under which they are shut up. But the opinion of certain philosophers, who maintain, that mere chance produces these extraordinary events, appears to me very ridiculous; affirming, that one stone striking another produces a spark, whence happen these great inflammations: Nay, they proceed farther, and would persuade us, that a lighted lamp, left by chance by those who searched into the bowels of these mountains, to discover the secrets of nature, might make these flames; which lighting on a combustible matter, and meeting with nothing that is contrary to them to extinguish them, do cause these surprising effects. They also say, that lightning striking fiercely on some one of the coasts of these mountains, may do the same thing as the stones striking one against another, or the lamp left lighted.

These opinions would not appear so ridiculous, were it possible to make any demonstration of them: But these events being all extraordinary, and in a manner prodigious, I shall willingly suffer thee to believe that it is a work of nature, or hell, or chance alone, which causes the perpetual motions of these fires, which are so terrible, and so greatly damnify one of the finest countries in the world, as Greece is, and this island, which is the delight and nurse of almost all the provinces situated on the banks of the Mediterranean sea.

We find also in Ireland these mountains of fire, yet

with this difference, that their flames do no hurt, which makes them nowise dreadful to the inhabitants. I think too I have heard my father say, that being in company with certain Arabians in our Lycia, he saw these kind of fires come out of the earth, but they broke out gently and caused no damage.

I am now persuaded of one thing, which I would never believe before, which is, that old Pliny, intending to relate to the Emperor Titus, and leave to posterity a relation of the effects of Vesuvius, and a perfect discovery of the causes of so many prodigious effects; he therefore went himself on the place, because that in his time this famous mountain had cast out an horrible quantity of fire, stones and ashes, with so great violence, and such terrible noise, that the effects of it were felt in Syria, Afric, and especially in Egypt. But the curiosity of this wretched philosopher having cost him his life, the Romans expect still, with his return, the discovery of the secret causes of so many prodigious effects. Take care of thine own health, and let not any of thy patients miscarry through thy neglect or rashness. Continue to love me, though I am at a great distance from thee. Write to me sometimes; and believe that I am not able to conform myself to the way of living of strangers amongst whom I reside. I shall be always a good mussulman, and a faithful friend.

Paris, 10th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1639.

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XII.—*To the Venerable MUFTI, Prince of the Religion of the Turks.*

THY decree is very cruel, to separate me, without having committed any crime, from the communion of the faithful.

I have read the holy answer thou hast made me with great veneration ; but this has not been without many tears : thou hast not untied the knot of the difficulties which perplex me, but made it indissoluble ; so that I only live in the certainty of having no certitude ; and my soul, which is encompassed with fear, will be in dread till death.

If I do what thou proposest, how shall I be sure of not failing, seeing I do not understand what I ought to do. I am so dull, that I cannot distinguish whether thou exhorteest me to do what I have ever done, or whether thou forbiddest me what I asked of thee.

I entreated thee to let me know, whether I might be amongst the Christians, and do, in appearance, what they do effectually in the observance of the ceremonies of their religion ? and thou answerest me, “ That the circumcised, or faithful, should have no doubt in his law, and need no other precepts to observe it than the law itself. Moreover, that the true mussulman must be willing to lose his estate, his life and honour, in the sultan’s service ; that the Christians are enemies to the true God, the emperor and religion ; and that, in fine, one ought to sacrifice all things not to betray this God, who is our chief master.”

Tell me, I entreat thee on my bended knees, cannot a man be a true Mahometan without hating eternally the followers of Jesus ? and in living amongst them, secretly, a true mussulman, must one show one’s self to be of another religion, or pretend to be of theirs ? Thou wilt tell me, the Alcoran speaks with great clearness ; yet how many obscure passages do we find in the words of our holy Prophet, wherein we need thy expositions ?

I have no belief for Tagot, neither will I give credit to the devil ; my law expressly forbids it : for I believe

in one only true God, who knew the intention of our holy lawgiver, and sees what we cannot discover. And the prophet cries out, that he that has such principles leans on the strongest prop he can ever meet with ; there being nothing which is able to overthrow it.

Disperse, reverend sir, as much as thou canst, the darkness of my spirit : I conjure thee by the almighty Father, who can make live flesh come on the dry bones of the ass which died an hundred years past.

I do not discontinue here my usual prayers, which I make in the manner they are prescribed me by the law, with my face always turned to the side of Mecca. When I fast, I eat only at night ; and I continue my repast till, Aurora advancing, the day gives me light enough to distinguish black thread from white ; and I pass over the day without taking any nourishment, till the darkness be so great that I cannot see the eye of a needle. It is true I give no alms to the poor, because I doubt whether it be lawful to do good to those who continually move heaven against us.

The bishops here are in great veneration. They have not an absolute authority, because they depend on the Roman prelate and the king ; yet their jurisdiction is very large, the kingdom being full of churches, and these churches frequented by millions of people. They wear about their necks a golden cross. They live, in public, good lives ; are obliged to know all the points of their law ; they must be doctors, are obliged to celibacy, to be sober, hospitable, prudent, irreprehensible, without coveting others goods ; they must never be drunk, or shed human blood. Their habit is a long vest reaching to the ground, of black silk or violet. They go little on foot, but are carried in coaches to avoid the wearisomeness which would oppress them, in a town which seems



the greatest in the world ; which thou wouldest do too perhaps, wert thou designed to be their sovereign prelate.

The great Arbitrator of the world, favour by his mercy, or by an effect of his justice, the inconceivable honour of suffering thee to sweep during thy life, his most holy and only temple of Mecca, in the company of Ismael and Abraham, that thou mayest keep it clean, without any filth of what kind soever.

Paris, 10th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1639.

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### XIII.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE French armies are at present in winter quarters, and the court is busied in contriving what they shall do in the spring. I do not believe I write thee any false news for it is to be believed that the sharpness of the winter will hinder any thing from being undertaken before that time.

The eyes of all the court are fixed upon three objects, the king, the dauphin his son, and Cardinal Richlieu ; but they more carefully observe the latter than the former. This man hath made himself creatures by his benefits ; the thankfulness for which, and the hopes of new ones, has bound them to his interest. Yet it is to be believed, he has more enemies by means of the great credit he is in with his prince, and the occasions he finds to increase it. His antichamber is always full of attendants, who aspire to employs of such as are in offices, and several other persons, who are desirous to be witnesses of his actions. Those who threaten him in secret, do but increase his courage, and make him more carefully stand on his guard ; and those who have most expe-

rience of the world affirm, this cardinal knows too much to be surpris'd. Hear the recital of one of the least of his actions, whereby thou mayest figure the greatest, and give them the due price they deserve. For three years together was observed in this cardinal's antichamber, a man who was not far advanced in years, and as assiduous to make his court, as he was modest in his discourse; very reserved and patient; and, which is very rare at court, was never heard to complain. The cardinal, who pretends to read the souls of men, and who is inferior to none perhaps in this art, caus'd this person, who had so long attended, to be call'd to him, and thus spake to him: "I know who thou art, and how long time thou hast spent in observing me; although thou outwardly appearest a Frenchman, thy great patience assures me thou art of another climate; get thee to Rome, and wait but half the time in the Pope's antichamber, as thou hast done in mine, and I doubt not but thou wilt penetrate into the most hidden secrets. Depart then immediately for Italy, and observe the actions and motions of the wisest and most dissimulative court in the universe; discover not thyself to any body: Send me an account every week what thou canst discover; and in this manner thou wilt be useful to me, and avoid idleness. My secretary will give thee a cypher, and my treasurer has order to give thee what is necessary for thy voyage, as well as to keep thee when thou art at Rome."

The cardinal studious to extend the bounds of the kingdom, and for that purpose, consults those who can any ways advance his projects; especially, the king being now certain of a successor, by the birth of the dauphin, who seems very likely to live long. All hands are employ'd at Thoulon and Marseilles for the fitting out of galleys and other vessels; and it is thought, the chief

designs of this minister are on the coasts of Italy. I am told he was heard to say, that the Romans could never have conquered all the world, as they did, had they not before been masters of Italy ; that Hannibal had the same design ; and after Hannibal, Pope Alexander VI. intended to see whether such a design would take effect, but his pride and cruelty made all his projects prove abortive ; and that he could meet with greater success than Hannibal, could he be so happy as to attain one thing. And here he ended his discourse.

He so greatly minds whatever passes in the royal family and kingdom, that he can discover, as he pretends, all the thoughts, yea, and the very dreams, of the grantees, governors of provinces, and those that command in places.

He says, he has learned several useful things in the relation given us of the government of the Chineses, having from them the way of discovering the most difficult matters, without its appearing he does any thing for this purpose. And this is the method of governing, he observes, in this kingdom, wherein are so many restless spirits.

He maintains, near all people who are in any considerable offices, persons that depend only on him, and who are known to nobody else, who in all places wear mean clothes, and incessantly watch over the actions of the officers, and give him notice of whatever passes. He makes use of these kind of people about his master's ambassadors in foreign courts. He always carries a book about with him, which he calls Richlieu's Soul ; which book contains the designs, the interests, the secret practices and inclinations of all the princes who hold a correspondence, and have any ties with France, and on whom France has any pretensions. The most skilful a-

astrologers in Europe have also sent him the horoscopes of all the kings and great men, with their judgment touching the term of their lives, and what they may probably undertake in all times. This cardinal said, on another time, that he kept a great many courtiers, yet he could well enough spare them; that he knew what passed in remote places as soon as what was done near him. He once affirmed, he knew in less than two hours that the King of England had signed the warrant for the execution of ————. If this particular be true, this minister must be more than a man. Those who are his most devoted creatures affirm, he has in a private place in his closet, a certain mathematical figure, in the circumference of which are written all the letters of the alphabet, armed with a dart, which marks the letters, which are also marked by their correspondents, and it appears, that this dart ripens by the sympathy of a stone, which those who give and receive his advice keep always at hand, which hath been separated from another, which the cardinal has always by him; and it is affirmed, that with such an instrument he gives and receives immediately advices.

This great man, who knows all these reports, only laughs at them; yet he says with a serious air, that God has given him two angels, one white and another black, to inform him of both good and bad matters; and that with their assistance he shall overthrow the cabals of his enemies. He sent, some days past, a man to the galleys, that was accused for cutting in pieces the king's picture; but having been better informed, and knowing it was his, he told those about him, that this man should be pardoned, because he had done no hurt to the original. Here are theatres and feasts preparing to entertain

the people in honour of the king and cardinal ; and it is whispered that the queen is again with child.

Heaven preserve thee ever from the sultan's anger, and all other misfortunes which may sour the comforts of thy life.

Paris, 25th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1639.

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XIV.—*To EGRI BOYNOU, the white Eunuch.*

IF thou goest into Prussia in Bithynia, as thou writest, above all things remember to prepare thyself not to live long, and never to inform the young sultan Mustapha of the misfortune of the grandson to Solyman the Great, and son to poor Bajazet, whom his grandfather caused to be strangled in his infancy. This unhappy place makes me fearful of thy life, as well as that of the prince's, the care of whose education is committed to thee. I cannot forbear weeping every time I call to mind what passed between the victim and the executioner. Thou thyself toldest me, that this unhappy child embraced and kissed several times him that was to give the fatal stroke, even in the moment when he was putting about his neck the silken string which was to strangle him. All Asia is informed of the rest of the history ; and it is known, that this child, although strangled, yet triumphed at his death over his murderer ; for, being softened by the caresses of this infant, whom he was about destroying, he dropped down in a swoon ; and Bajazet's son had by this occasion escaped death, had not the other executioner, more cruel than the former, done the work.

Although thou dost not certainly know who is Mustapha's father, yet thou mayest well presume he is the emperor's son. Thy age and prudence so long experienced,



and the office of chief of all the eunuch's of the empire, which thou hast so long enjoyed, leaves no place of doubting, but that thy pupil is of royal blood. Arm thyself then with courage, and study to perform well thy duty in this solitary place: Nothing is so troublesome as the instructing of children, when they will be taught as masters by their slaves, and will not submit to rules, like private persons.

Thou mayest be sure, I shall render thee all the service I am able, seeing I consider thee as a friend that is extreme dear to me: But why dost thou seek amongst the Christians an illustrious subject, which may serve for a model to form a child born in the religion of the mussulmans?

Did I not know thy wisdom, I should think thou art very simple in searching after examples amongst the enemies of our holy law, to propose them to be followed by the Ottoman children. Thou hast chosen for this purpose Henry of France, termed The Great; and art thou ignorant, that this so famous a king was the most implacable enemy of the empire? Be it known to thee, that this prince undertook the boldest and dangerouslest design as was ever imagined, to destroy the monarchy of the mussulmans; and might probably have succeeded, had not heaven, by an unforeseen stroke, snatched him from the earth, to appear before the tribunal of the true God, who judges kings as well as other men. But lest thou shouldest imagine I make this pretence to excuse myself from satisfying thee in what thou desirest, receive at least one part of what thou expectest. Thou wouldest have me send thee the history of this prince; content thyself with a short extract of it, otherwise I must be forced to send thee a large volume. However, make not use of his example in all things; the way of living, the

laws and customs of the French, do not suit with the Turkish way of regimen. If thou wilt make thy pupil accomplished, form him on the model of some one of those heroes which the east has given us. Multapha will read with greater profit the history of Alexander and Pyrrhus, than that of Charlemagne and Henry; and should one wonder at the defaults of the King of Macedonia's son, and at the small fortune of the other, pray show me what men there ever were, who had at the same time the frailties of human nature, and the perfections of the Divinity.

And if thou wilt search into Persia and Egypt, thou wilt find a Cyrus, and an Artaxerxes, Ptolemy, Psammeticus, Campson and Tomombois, all great princes, whose actions honour antiquity. And how many heroes wilt thou find in our Greece, if thou wilt take no notice of those whom Rome has sent into the world? But not to go out of the Ottoman family, thou knowest very well, that we Turks have for proverbial speeches, the modesty of Solyman; the good mien of Alis; the justice of Nonquirevan; the majesty of Osman; the gravity of Humer; and the justice of Abubekir; not to mention the courage and magnanimity of Amurath, who is, at this day, more valorous than any of his common soldiers; whether he be in his seraglio of Constantinople, or in his tents before Babylon.

Ten days ago I received thy letter, and I have employed a great deal of that time in collecting what thou hast desired of me; and to speak truly, thy commands have supplied me with matter wherewithal to divert me. Thou wilt be, without doubt, surpris'd that two men, who long served this king in mean employs, have discovered several particulars of his life, with which the French themselves, perhaps, are not acquainted. My sentiment

has ever been, that it is more necessary to know the manners and customs of men, than to know the number of places they have besieged or taken ; and to be informed of their good qualities and bad ones, than to learn the manner of their encampments, and the number of the battles which they have won or lost. All histories contain the actions of men, and the principal is to know these men, to instruct others ; for histories do generally rather divert than instruct men. These will teach thee better what thou art to learn, than the historians themselves. Christian authors are at present like the elements, always in war, and ever contrary to one another, and never agreeing.

These two above-mentioned friends, who are now very old men, have served King Henry above thirty years, and ever held a strict correspondence with one another ; one was his barber, and the other's business was to divert him with reading to him when he was going to rest.

That which is related of Henry's coming into the world without weeping, is certainly a fable ; but it is certain the Queen of Navarre, his mother, sung a French song in the time of his birth ; whereby this princess seemed to show other women, that it is possible to be brought to bed without crying out. The first milk which this royal babe drank, was an ambrosia, which the gods of our friend, the poet Oglou, never tasted : His father made him drink in a golden cup, of the strongest wine that could be gotten, wherein he put and squeezed a clove of garlic, which he thought proper to strengthen his temperament, and render him more vigorous. He was afterwards bred up like Cyrus, spending his first days in woods, and oftentimes in the company of shepherds. He went always with his head bare, whether

exposed to the scorching heats of the summer's sun, or during winter, to the rain and most rigorous frosts, snow and hail. It seems as if he had begun his life in prison, being confined to the fields, distant from all converse, clad in coarse hair-cloth, to accustom his body to fatigues, and supple his spirits to the accidents of fortune.

He was but nine years old when he lost his father, Anthony king of Navarre. The death of this prince may serve for a lesson to Mustapha; for, having received his death's wound at the siege of a considerable place, he made the wall of the chamber where he lay to be broken down, that he might be carried in his own bed, dying as it were in triumph, into the town: Miserable ambition of great men, who strip not themselves of it, till death strip them of their lives! Seven years after the death of Anthony, the young Henry was declared head and defender of the Hugonot party; and, when eighteen years old, he was in a considerable fight; but it is not well known, whether he himself was engaged. Fortune was so contrary to him in the beginning, that having lost a battle, he was obliged to flee for six months together with the rest of his army; and to traverse almost throughout all the provinces of the kingdom, without taking any rest, for fear of being surpris'd.—Thou hast never read, I believe, of any captain that made a flight of that durance before him. The queen, his mother, being a woman of masculine courage, and firmness of mind, died, poisoned by a pair of gloves. At nineteen years of age, he married the king's sister, who then reigned, named Charles IX. and never any wedding was solemnized with such bloody tragedies. It is hard to believe what an infinite number of Hugonots were then massacred; the design was secretly laid during

the celebration of the wedding, and executed six days after, at full noon. It is said, that in one day all France was dyed with the blood of these poor people, there being at least an hundred thousand of them slain, amongst which were twenty lords of great consideration, with the great admiral of the kingdom ; and, at the fewest, four thousand soldiers massacred in Paris. Henry did not perish on that unhappy day, but he was very near death ; and the king having called him, thus spake to him, with an angry tone, and fierce countenance, " Henry, thou art alive, because I would spare thee, but I will not spare thee, if thou persist in thy heresy ; choose one of these two things, either the mass or death." If thou knowest not what the mass is, I will shew thee in another letter. This prince chose to go to mass, rather than to lose his life ; and therefore publicly abjured the religion he professed. These two old men affirm, that Nero or Caligula's court was never corrupted as that of France was then. No people were more in fashion than buffoons ; and never did the worst sort of debaucheries so abound. Sorceries, impositions, assassinations, and all other sorts of crimes were permitted in such a manner that all the laws and good order seemed to be overthrown. It is not known whether the King of Navarre took up his former religion through policy, or some corruption he saw amongst the catholics ; however, he returned some time after to Calvinism, whereunto he was so obstinately addicted, that having lived several years in this sect, he was forced to offer great violence to himself, to enjoy peaceably the kingdom of France, and accommodate himself with the Pope of Rome, and to make again public profession of the Roman religion.

Never any prince more loved women than he did. This passion prevailed over him all the days of his life ;



and there were two different natures observable in his person—an invincible courage in the field; and such a passion for women, as made him be often seen to weep amongst them. He has had greater weaknesses than Hercules, and he gloried in them. He challenged the bravest man in all France, the Duke of Guise, to a single fight; but the king interposed his authority to hinder the combat.

This king performed an action during his youth, which our dervises would have certainly set down in their registers as greatly remarkable. On a certain day wherein he was to fight a pitched battle, being on horseback in the midst of his army, he made public reparation to a young woman whom he had deflowered, and spake in these terms: “I have forced this woman you see here, and used threats when entreaties would not bring her to my lust. Let all that hear me detest the bad example I have given. And as for your part, whom I have thus wronged, choose an husband, and receive from me such a portion as may seem in some sort an amends for the injury I have done you.”

It seems as if this so laudable an action was approved of by Heaven: For having immediately hereupon given battle, he overthrew a mighty army with a few troops.

The ladies, who bore Henry no ill will for his tenderness to their sex, greatly interested themselves in the affairs of war, wherein this prince was always head of the Hugonot party; and they gave occasion to a proverb which lasted a great while: There being some who were for making a peace, and others war, this war was called *The Ladies War*. This prince had been in so many fights, that I believe one may truly say in this particular, never any prince came near him; for who ever in one day was in two battles, and came off victorious?

King Charles IX. dying during this time, the queen-mother sent for her other son in great diligence, who had been elected some moons before king of Poland, by the death of Sigismund Augustus. It is said, that Charles's successor having been advertised of the death of the king his brother, fled in the night from Cracovia only with two persons who were his confidants, and retired to Venice; and it is said, that the courtezans of this famous city assured the crown to our Henry; for, having been infected with the distemper which the French call the Neapolitan Disease, and other nations the French Pox, he became incapable of having children to perpetuate the crown in the branch of Valois.

After his death, which was violent, and perpetrated by a Christian dervise, Henry III. dying without an heir, and his throne being sought by different pretenders, Henry, to whom alone his birth had given right, became master of it by his patience: His fatigues in war, and his courage, made him vanquish all obstacles. He maintained his right with an unparalleled valour, and carried himself with the greatest prudence; yet his greatest successes are owing to the greatness of his heart. He met sometimes with disadvantage, but oftener came out conqueror from all engagements; and it is observable, he was the prouder after the battles won, because he had before appeared extraordinary familiar with the soldiers who had helped him to win them. He was wont to be often in his stables to see his horses; and often slept amongst these creatures, whom he termed his most faithful courtiers. How difficult soever the way was which was to lead him to the throne, he would not be disheartened; these difficulties serving only to increase his courage. He saw the Spaniards confederated with his enemies; yet he alone, without any other assistance but of

some few faithful troops, sat down before Paris, which was the most famous siege since that of Jerusalem by Titus. He reduced the inhabitants of this capital of the kingdom to live on the most abject means one can imagine, after they had consumed the rats, mice, dogs and cats, which were for some time the greatest delicacies the best people of the town could meet with. But he was, for all this (after he had given several assaults), forced to raise the siege, and accommodate himself with the prince who commands all the priests amongst the catholics; and he again renounced Calvinism, wherewith he was infected, and which served as a pretence to his enemies. He was crowned in the same manner as his other predecessors had been before him. He began to govern his kingdom, ruined by so many wars, pillages, and concussions, made by all sorts of people, and so repaired it by his good government, that he was soon in a condition to embellish it. He built several magnificent bridges, raised stately edifices, and forgot nothing which might re-establish those good orders which the licentiousness of the times had overthrown.

But what this king designed against us as soon as he was settled on the throne, will appear at the same time to thee both dreadful and admirable. As soon as ever he had made a general peace with his enemies, he laid the foundation of the most heroic design that ever man invented, wherein he shewed himself not inferior to the first of the Cæsars, nor the conqueror of Asia.

He undertook to overthrow all the monarchies of the world, to give a new face to all the affairs of it, and destroy, in a short time, the empire of the Ottomans. But before he began such a great enterprise, he was for paying all the debts of the crown, and his own in particular; which amounted altogether to near an hundred mil-

lions, and it was a prodigious thing to find so much money without selling the kingdom, or engaging the people; yet it is true that he got this money, and paid those debts with it.

He was for dividing Christendom into fifteen equal dominations, five of which should obey kings that were so by succession, and six to be subject to kings that were elective, and the four remaining should be republics.

By this division he left the pope the countries belonging to the church, and added thereunto the kingdom of Naples, with the homage of Sicily, and the greatest part of Italy, modelled into a republic; with obligation to give the pope every year a golden crucifix, and four thousand sequins. Only Venice was left in the condition it was in, with its laws and customs. But there were allotted to this republic, kingdoms and isles, which were to be taken from us in the Archipelago, with an homage to the Roman prelate, of an embassy to kiss his feet; and at the end of every twenty-five years, a small statue of gold, representing St. Peter, whom they term God's Vicar on earth.

Flanders should make a republic with the rest of the Low Countries, which would be a loss for the Spaniards; and to this republic should be added some of the neighbouring states.

The Franche Comte, Alsatia, Tirol, and Trante, were added to the democratical state of the Swisses, with the homage, every fifteen years, of an hunting-dog, with a golden collar about his neck fastened to a chain of gold, which this republic should present to the Emperor of Germany.

The emperor should be obliged to renounce the aggrandizing of his family, and only dispose of vacant fiefs, the investiture of which he should not bestow on any of

his kindred ; and there should be a law inviolably observed in the empire, that never two princes of the same race should enjoy successively the imperial crown.

The dutchy of Milan should be added to the other provinces belonging to the Duke of Savoy, together with the title of King of Lombardy.

The kingdom of Hungary should be enlarged with the principalities of Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia ; and the king, who was to be elective, should be chosen by the suffrages of the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, the Kings of France, England, Spain, Swedeland, Poland, and Denmark ; and Bohemia should be submitted to the same laws.

France, England, Spain, Poland, Swedeland and Denmark, should not change their form of government, when for the general affairs, these kingdoms were to be subject to the universal republic, of which the pope was to be the head.

Things thus established, Henry was to be the umpire of all Christendom, to decide all differences which might happen between the aforesaid princes and states, with fifteen persons chosen from amongst the most famous for learning and arms, which could be found among these fifteen dominations : And besides these, there was to be established a general council, consisting of sixty other persons, for all the differences which might happen in all the kingdoms and republics between those who governed them ; and this great assembly should make their residence in the capital city, Rome.

Every state was to be obliged to furnish a certain number of troops, and sum of money, to make war against the Turks : And the business of Poland and Swedeland should be to make war together against the Muscovites and Tartars. There were afterwards three generals to



be chosen by common consent, for the conquering of Asia, one for the sea, and two for the land; and three hundred thousand foot entertained, with one hundred and fifty thousand horse, and four hundred pieces of cannon; and the naval army was to consist of an hundred and fifty vessels, and one hundred gallies; and a fund was to be raised for this of an hundred millions of gold.

This treasure was to be put into the pope's hands:—The isle of Malta was to be the storehouse of all things belonging to the sea, the port of Messina the arsenal of the galleys, and the city of Metz one of the principal magazines for the land forces.

All the Christian princes were to be obliged to lessen their ordinary expences, and to contribute to this great design according to their ability.

There were to have been several spies in Constantinople in the habit of Greeks, who were perfectly skilled in the eastern languages, to observe the motions of our empire: And besides these, forty resolute men, who were at a certain time and signal, to set fire to the seraglio and arsenal, and several other quarters of the town.

There was found in this hero's closet, after his death, a memorial written with his own hand, wherein he had already marked twelve ambassadors for several places in Christendom, for the negotiating of so great an affair; and the Pope, republic of Venice, and Duke of Savoy, had been already acquainted with it.

In the mean time, this king had an army already of forty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; and he was, under pretence of visiting the frontiers of Flanders, thence to begin the execution of his project, affirming, that, as to his own part, he had no other pretension but the glory of delivering Christianity from the tyranny of these barbarians.

It is said he applied himself for ten years together in searching the means to make his project take ; he gave great pensions to the cardinals at Rome, and in Germany to several officers ; and he had in France, besides the troops I have already mentioned, four thousand gentlemen, who were so devoted to him, that they were ready to mount on horseback on the least order from him.

He had already fifteen millions in the Bastile ; and he that had the superintendency of his treasure, promised to add thereunto, in less than three years, forty more millions, without touching the ordinary revenues.

I have no knowledge of the manner how he would divide the estates of the sultan. But Henry was assassinated just as he was ready to leave Paris to begin so great a work, being killed in his coach, in the arms of his most faithful courtiers ; and the fatal stroke which carried him out of the world, delivered the empire of the true believers ; this empire, whose throne is so high that it reaches up to the first heaven, whence it scares these infidels, and secures the good mussulmans from the insults of the Christians.

One of these old men I mentioned has assured me, he heard the king speak these following words some days before his death, “ I shall never go out of this town : I know not what withholds me : I shall never accomplish what I design ; never see the destruction of Constantinople ; for I am told by astrologers I shall be killed in a coach. I must then always go on foot, and never stir out of Paris.”

Such was the end of this prince, so highly venerated by the French. He was really a man of great courage and great penetration ; and so much the greater, in that he regarded the destruction of the Ottoman empire, as one of the difficultest things in the world ; and truly,

no other prince did that honour to Mahomet nor his successors. But yet not finding his own forces sufficient to invade and destroy the Turkish empire, he invented a chimerical project to find a possibility in a thing which ever appeared impossible.

In the very moment I am writing, I have received certain news of my ruin. If I be not taken off this time at Paris, I shall perhaps be more fortunate than ever, and more successfully and fully serve our great emperor, whose clemency is equal to his grandeur, and who is above all the powers on earth. Cardinal Richlieu has sent for me to come to him: I therefore finish this letter in haste, which perhaps will be the last I write, being greatly afraid I am discovered. If my fear be vain, I shall learn thee, in another letter, the most remarkable events of Henrys life. In the mean time, I am resolved and disposed to suffer the martyrdom. If I die, my dear Egri, we shall see one another in the other world; if it be true that we shall have eyes there, and remember what has past here below. Pray the Great God for Mahmut, and take care of thy health.

Paris, 25th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1639.

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XV.—*To the Invincible VIZIER AZEM, at the Camp under Babylon.*

CARDINAL RICHLIEU made me come into his presence, and yet I am alive: He has not attempted any thing against either life or liberty; but has done me the same honour as to other foreign churchmen; for he believes I am of Moldavia, calling me Titus, not knowing any more of me than what I told him. It seems on the contrary, as if he intended me kindnesses, supposing me a

bitter enemy to the Turks ; and perhaps I shall receive some present from him, for having served him already as an interpreter. I shall tell thee, invincible Visier, what has past between him and me, without any fear of being tedious to thee. I serve thee faithfully, and write to thee as oft as my duty requires.

As soon as I was in his closet, he thus spoke to me : “ Titus, What dost thou do in Paris ? What business hast thou in this town ? And what is really thy country ? ” I answered him, “ That I was a poor clerk of Moldavia, and came to study divinity, and be a priest ; that I knew no better place to become wise and learned ; and that I would willingly sacrifice all things to render him service.” He afterwards asked me, “ Whether I was acquainted with any of the Eastern languages ; and whether I had ever been at Constantinople ? ” — “ I have been,” replied I, “ in this great town when I was a child ; and that my father and mother were then in slavery. My father is dead, and my mother is married again to a Christian Greek. I understand Arabic and Turkish, and am perfectly skilled in the school Greek.” “ What do you mean by school Greek ? ” replied the cardinal. “ It is different from the vulgar Greek,” answered I, “ which is so corrupted, that learned people will not give themselves the trouble to understand it.” He afterwards bade me go into a little closet, where I should find one of his secretaries, who would need my help ; where I had no sooner entered, but the secretary presented me with a Turkish manuscript, to turn into Latin or Italian, if I could not do it into French. I immediately translated it into Latin, and now will inform thee (wise Minister and Governor of the great Empire of the true Faithful), of the contents of it.

The Christian dervises, called in France Cordeliers,

keep, as thou knowest, in Jerusalem, the sepulchre of their Messias, by a privilege which Zelim, the conqueror of Palestine, granted them. These religious have neither peace nor truce with the Greek Christians, and they have such differences together, as are of ill consequence to all ; they persecute one another without ceasing, and spread abroad most bitter satires against each other. Each party makes ill reports to his superior of that which is opposite, and mixes among some truths, a great many lies and absurd stories. But it appears to me, that the Greeks, who naturally love cabals, and have the reputation of great romancers, are more dexterous than their adverse party to do mischief.

The Christian dervises have represented a great many things to this cardinal, to authorise their pretensions against the Greeks, by means of the French ambassador. They not only reproach the Greeks with several injustices and violences, but accuse the cadi's of cruelty and tyranny, and the soldiers which guard Jerusalem of insupportable exactions. Thou shouldst be thoroughly informed, whether these complaints be on just grounds ; for they affirm, their patience is beyond the cruelty of the officers thou employest ; yet that they can no longer bear the insolencies which are now put on them, and are on the point of hazarding all by a stroke of despair. It does not belong to me to be advocate in the behalf of those who are submitted to thy authority, and especially of those who ought to bear the yoke of the Mahometans ; but it is the duty of Mahmut, thy creature, to inform thee of the true circumstances of affairs which come to his knowledge. Yet, if the oppression of the dervises be so great as they make it, thou that art the true light which enlightens the empire of the faithful, and scatterest the



darkness of it, thou wilt not permit those that live under the public faith to be oppressed; and that four wretched Greeks shall be the cause of such disorders as may happen to Palestine, the complaints of which have reached the ears of the greatest princes in Europe, and to whom such things may give false ideas of the government of those who are chosen by God to command all the world. Invincible Bassa, I have discovered the true circumstances of this affair, in the Turkish manuscript which Cardinal Richlieu's secretary has put into my hands. I have fully discovered the false reasonings of the Armenians and Greeks, who by common consent have offered several things to the most venerable musti, which I am sure thou wilt not approve of; for they make most wretched excuses, to colour over their perfidiousness. They say the Romanists ought to be ill used on purpose to get rid of them from Palestine, being like the Jews, bitter enemies in their hearts to the welfare of the empire; that the time of the privileges granted by Zelim and his successors is expired; and that moreover, it is great imprudence to suffer pilgrims to come over from distant countries, who under pretence of visiting the Holy Sepulchre, and other places which superstition has consecrated in Palestine, come to espy the actions of the Turks, examine the form of their government, visit their places, and measure the roads and ports which they possess on the seas, which may prove of dismal consequence to the honour and interest of the Ottoman empire. I cannot inform thee how this memoir came into Richlieu's hands, but it was either sold or intercepted at Constantinople, where it was addressed. However, I must not forget to tell thee one remark which this minister made, whence thou mayest guess, whether he reasoned like a wise and prudent man: "Were I," says he, "the sul-

tan's chief minister, I should have added privilege to privilege to the monks cordeliers, not only because justice requires it, but by reason of the advantage which might redound thereby to the Turks. I would make the ways to Jerusalein easy to all people : I would lessen the tribute ; the pilgrims should be well used, the Christians in general, as well as the cordeliers ; and I would severely punish the officers and soldiers who guard Palestine, and the sacred places, if they did otherwise." And then turning himself towards me ; " Does it not appear to thee," says he, " that the best way to enlarge a kingdom is, to procure it an advantage which increases the number of its subjects ? It is not enough that the prince shows the ornaments of his principality ; he must show also the prince, otherwise he will be like the philosopher who was brought into Herod's presence : " I do not see," says the king, " any thing else but the beard and cloak of a philosopher." If the Turks do as the Scythians, when they made themselves masters of Athens, they will do better ; for they would not burn the books which were gathered together in this famous town, alleging, that those who applied themselves to study, were not wont to do any great hurt. If the Christians meditate on death, in visiting and honouring the sepulchres, the mussulmans should consider, that if they make war against them, they have only to do with contrite and penitent persons, who will therefore be the more easily defeated."

And this is a faithful and exact account of the conversation I had with this chief minister of state. Suffer now that I add, as a note of the justice of the Christians pretensions, what some particulars of this kingdom had given me to understand, touching the justice and antiquity of the privileges of the religious Christians at Je-

rusalem. They make appear, that for above three hundred years these places do belong to the Roman Catholics ; that Robert d'Anjou bought them of the Soldan of Egypt, and made thereof a present to the Roman church, and put them in possession not only of the Holy Sepulchre, but of Calvary, of Bethlehem, and their dependencies ; which settlement lasted till Zelim I. who therein confirmed the religious Christians, with an augmentation of privileges, as soon as ever he had conquered Egypt and Palestine.

Francis I. King of France, having made an alliance with Solyman II. he inserted in his treaty an article which confirmed the aforesaid privileges, which were since solemnly renewed, till Amurath's time, who is now on the throne of the mussulmans (an happy emperor, and master of the universe, for whose sake alone the sun enlightens the earth), and confirms what his predecessors had done in favour of the Christian Roman dervises, whom he has maintained without any regard to the vain pretensions of the Greeks and Armenians, in their lawful possession of Calvary, the grotto of Bethlehem, and the two little mountains thereunto belonging ; and granted to them the keeping of the stone on which their Saviour Christ was embalmed, as well as that of the two small domes covered with lead, under which is the Holy Sepulchre.

Thy humble slave Mahmut has an unpleasant task imposed on him by this French minister. He desired me to give him some memoir in general of what I know, and bade me not wonder at his curiosity ; it being his maxim, to make friendship with all strangers of merit, whereby he has learned several important matters, and discovered secrets of great importance ; and that it lay in my power to oblige him greatly, in giving him an exact account of

the forces of the Ottoman empire, and where they lay most open to be attacked. I answered him very modestly, that my business being only to say my breviary, he could not expect any great capacity from me in these matters. He smilingly bade me try what I could do in that matter; yet, however, he would not lay any thing upon me which might make me uneasy; adding, that though he were a cardinal and a priest, yet he knew something more than divinity, and that several Roman prelates had made war with great success from St. Peter's chair. In fine, I could not but promise to gratify him; and thou shalt know in due time how I discharged myself; for I shall rather part with my life than act contrary to my allegiance. However, I must avoid giving him cause to suspect me, and acquaint thee alone with the conferences I have had with him.

The holy Prophet multiply thy line, that the empire may not want ministers of thy lineage; and the Great God so assist thy valour, that thou mayst see the empire of Amurath without bounds.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

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XVI.—*To the same.*

THE winter is so far advanced, that the king's armies lie quiet. It is no fable, that the dauphin was born with some teeth, and that no nurse dare present him the teat, for fear of being bit with them. It is said also, that there being no woman to be found about the court which can endure the suckling of him, there is a certain peasant, a very healthful and hardy woman, that has undertaken that employment.

Here are four posts arrived at the same time; one

comes from Rome, the rest from the armies ; but what news they bring is not yet known. It is thought that he which comes from Germany brings news of Alfatia and Brisac. The King of France is very well. Here are great preparations at Court for the carnival, in which time the Christians play a thousand mad pranks.

It is commonly said the queen is with child again. Here are also many reports of the Grand Signior's expedition, both in prints and news-letters ; and several prognostics are made on his enterprize on Babylon.

I shall inform thee by the first opportunity, what is said here further of our ever-victorious emperor, and of thee also who art his chief minister, and the right arm of his empire ; and at the same time tell thee what news come from the northern parts, of which, I suppose, the kaimacham has given thee some notice, as well as of the most considerable events of the war of Alfatia. The Immortal Being reward thee with the taking of Babylon, and all Persia, as a reward of thy fidelity and valour, and pains thou hast taken in serving faithfully thy master ; and give thee the good fortune of leading triumphantly in chains the sovereign of this empire, that he may be humbled to the kissing of the stirrup of the invincible Amurath's horse.

Paris, 16th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

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XVII.—*To BEKIR BASSA, Chief Treasurer to the Grand Signior.*

ELIACHIM the Jew, whom thou thoughtest so wise and virtuous a man, concealed his ill qualities at Constantinople, to discover them more advantageously at Paris. It was not his fault that my affairs were not entirely ruined.



The villain gave marks of his treachery in the very moment he saw me receive the money from Carcoa at Vienna upon thy order. I wrote to thee, I thought this man would be faithful in instructing me in the things which were necessary for me to know, and that I would be upon my guard in those things wherein he might do me mischief. Thou mayest easily imagine how I am vexed at present ; for I can neither accuse him, nor draw from him a just revenge. He made me believe, that a lawyer's son at Paris, a young man of great hopes, having received some displeasure from his relations, was resolved to be circumcised, and embrace the Mahometan religion ; and that he would not lose so happy an occasion of doing me service ; and therefore had contrived to hide this young man in a close cellar, underneath the house where I lodge, without discovering to him the place where he should be. He added, he had promised him money, and to procure him a considerable employ in Constantinople ; and that he had, in fine, filled him with all the hopes which are wont to be given to those that, through fickleness, or temporal advantages, forsake the religion of their fathers, to profess another. He also assured me, I should have no trouble by this business, having taken all necessary care to transport his convert immediately to Tunis or Algiers, and from thence to Constantinople. I yielded to the reasons he alleged, and this young man was brought in the night to the house where I lay, and hid without my seeing him. But the next day was not opened without a strange scene in the house. I was astonished to see a woman in a great rage stand before me, demanding satisfaction for violating her daughter and taking away her life, charging me with having forcibly carried her away, and then murdered her ; and she made me all

these reproaches in the company of a great many officers of justice.

Think then the confusion I was in ; the more I denied the crime, the more fiercely they charged it on me. I was threatened with death if I did not confess it, and give the satisfaction required of me ; and at the same time this sly Jezabel gave a sign to one of the rogues her companions to go down to such a place, and bring up her daughter, who was found alive in man's clothes, and melted into tears. It signified nothing to allege reasons to prove my innocence ; so that I was forced at last to throw out to these hungry wretches all the money I had, and they withdrew not till they had abused and reviled me in a most bitter manner. They got from me about an hundred and eighty-four sequins of gold, and about an hundred piasters of silver. Eliachim has the confidence to affirm he knew nothing of the cheat ; and thinks to justify himself in saying, that if he who is a Jew was deceived by this young man, who pretended to become a Turk, there were a thousand French people who had been cheated in like manner. I shall not here mention what I alleged to him to make him own his perfidiousness, this being fruitless. On the other hand, reflecting on the employ I had, and my present circumstances, it appeared to me necessary to dissemble this truth, and to wait for some favourable occasion to send this villain out of Paris, and to lay some snare for him at Constantinople. I give thee notice of this event for two reasons, that I may have more money, and provide for my safety, believing myself in great danger as long as I live where such a fellow comes. I shall not mention the interests of Mahmut's life ; for I shall ever think it well spent should it be lost in the sultan's service, who is the only prop of the universe.

Thou wilt not want opportunities wherein thou mayest draw out of Eliachim's purse the money he has robbed me of; neither wilt thou want means to remove from me so dangerous a companion. Thou shouldest know what the Christians, who are always irreconcilable enemies to the Jews, say of them: they affirm, that these infamous wretches are the slaves of all nations excepting Turkey; and especially in Constantinople, where they are masters; they are at the same time caressed and cursed; in the midst of abundance they appear always miserable; and yet they lay hands on all others properties. They add, that they be vagabonds like Ulysses, yet in whatever place they are they find a country like Homer; that they are all perfidious, and in public affect to appear religious, but live in grievous disorder and luxury in their own houses, sticking at no sort of crimes; bragging, that though it be not permitted them to purchase lands, yet they have found means to get into their hands a great part of the gold in Europe. The Christians also say, their number must needs be great, seeing they never go to war; and there are none amongst them that do not marry. They are, say they, ever cowards and poltrons where there is any danger or pains; but bold when they foresee any certain gain in the markets they make. They never speak the truth but when it is to deceive; they are ever liars, and there is no impiety or sacrilege at which they will scruple; and these same Christians affirm, they will commit, one time or other, some horrid crime in our great imperial city, being the Turks concealed enemies, though they put great confidence in them; and that we are willing to be deceived by them. I have written to Carcoa to send me speedily some assistance; and I have been forced to borrow money of this same Eliachim, that traitor who has brought me into the condition I am

in. He could not deny me, though he pleads (like a rogue as he is) extreme poverty.

This trick which has been put upon me, will oblige me henceforward to keep a valet, but I will take one so little, that no man shall reproach me with choosing much of an ill thing. Abandon not the poor Mahmut, who prays God that he would give thee all sorts of prosperities, and make thee live in perfect health! and wishes that all the monarchs of the infidel nations may become slaves to the sultan, who shall be ever invincible! and that their riches may increase the treasure thou guardest.

Paris, 15th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

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#### XVIII.—*To CARCOA at Vienna.*

I HAVE received the money thou didst send me, and immediately lost it; yet without my fault. Bekir the treasurer has been informed by my letters of the loss I sustained, and of another affair which is not necessary for thee to know. I also writ to him, I expected a speedy supply from thee; for I should demand it of thee. The Grand Signior's interest requires, that thou dost not oblige me to give thee any other reason, and that thou deferrest not to send me, as soon as may be, a sufficient sum of money. I can only inform thee, that in the attempt which was made on me, I lost only what I can recover. My life is in safety, and, by a miracle, my affairs are in the same condition; for nobody has as yet discovered who I am. If thou writest any thing to Eliachim the Jew, be sure be careful, and do not trust him more than needs.

Send without loss of time to the Porte the packet I

addressed to thee, and let me not languish in Paris in the expectation of money. It is true, gold is a rare commodity, because every body desires it. In this great town of Paris, one may sooner find an hundred fairs than one liberal person. The French say it belongs only to fools to be free of their money; that a man should succour his friend with good counsel, and there is no need of any thing else. Learn, Carcoa, to have no need of other people's help, and have a care of being too free. Men that are accustomed to receive good turns, are generally wont to reckon them as debts.

The vanity of that philosopher, who died with misery, is a great example of men's insolency. When Pericles would give him some succour to prolong his life, he had the audaciousness to say to him, "Thou carriest oil, O Pericles! because thou hast need of a lamp."

The Sovereign Moderator of all things keep thee from falling into necessity: This is the best wish the poor Mahmut can make for thee, in the low estate he finds himself.

Paris, 15th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

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### XIX.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

BIRKABEB's father was a rich man in Arabia, and his virtue was equal to his riches. He had nineteen children, who all died of the same distemper when they arrived to some years. Never family was more united and regular. Birkabeb was naturally of a quiet soft temper, but so holy a man, and at last died so poor, that a thief coming into his chamber one night to steal, and finding nothing, he called him to him, whilst he was going away, and gave him his bed, as not being willing he should de-



part empty-handed and lose his labour. Being forced after this to lie on the floor, he received assistance from heaven by the hands of his wife ; and scarce were twenty moons past since this adventure, but there happened another more strange than the former ; for he became on a sudden very rich, and at the same instant ceased to be wife. He had a wife of as haughty a disposition, and noisy humour, as his was quiet and humble. This woman kept the flocks, and, with a florid youthfulness, was endued with great beauty ; and it is not known by what accident a prince of the race of the Sophy of Persia, who fled from his sovereign's displeasure, met with her. It is certain, that having recommended himself to her, and entreated her to save his life, and not discover him, she led him into a very thick wood, which was never frequented, where the prince lived for fourteen years concealed. But growing at length tired with this sort of life, he persuaded this woman to go to Ispahan disguised in man's apparel, and find Arsamus, who had been his governor, and was a faithful and wise man, who would give her money and jewels, and a water which would so disguise his countenance, that his nearest friends could not know him ; by which means he might hold on his way to Rhodes as he had determined. This woman soon arrived at Ispahan with the prince's tokens, which were some strange characters, and a ring which he usually wore ; which Arsamus knowing, he entrusted her with a considerable sum, and several diamonds, together with a little golden pot wherein was this water before mentioned. This messenger returning in less than forty days time, found the prince dead in the grotto where he withdrew, with a paper in his hand, wherein he entreated the first which chance should bring thither, to bury his body at the foot of a fair oak near by ; and also entreated the

party which had his ring to carry it to the sophy, and beg pardon for the offence he had given him. Birkabeb's wife then discovered to him all that had happened, led him into the wood, showed him the dead prince, the letter, the ring, and the precious stones, and only reserved to herself the secret of the water, which she would not entrust him with. Having after this resolved to go to the sophy, they went together, by whom they were well received, and laden with riches. Birkabeb took up his abode at Isfahan, tarrying there four years, and there led a voluptuous and dishonest life; whilst his wife, leaving him, ran away with a young Persian, and made several different voyages into Asia, under several figures, and by means of the water which she had received of Arsamus, she deceived her husband, and as many lovers as she pleased.

The unhappy Birkabeb, being by his wife's lewdness become again poor, resolved at last to return to his own country, where he died in his house, full of years, and in such repute for holiness, that the common report is, he wrought divers miracles. He left four sons, of which I knew only Ababar, who is he thou mentionest in thy letter. And this is all I can tell thee of Birkabeb, of his son and grandson Ababar, whom I look upon as a very honest man, and in whom I believe thou mayest put confidence; yet with this reflection, that he which is honest now may cease to be so. Salute this person from me, and continue to love me. Answer my first letter, if thou hast not done it; and this last also, if it be not too troublesome to thee. Farewell.

Paris, 13th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

XX.—To EGRI BOYNOU, *the White Eunuch.*

I AM still alive, and in health ; my fear has proved vain, and I have escaped the cardinal's hands without any danger ; which will make me hope the same good fortune should he ever send for me again. But thou shalt not know his business with me, that being a secret I am obliged to conceal.

Thou hast, I hope, received the long letter I wrote thee, containing several particulars of Henry IV.'s life. I send thee now several of his sayings, which may be termed sentences. Read them with attention, they are as pleasant as profitable for Mustapha's use, who will find this great king to have had an invincible courage in adversity, and great clemency and generosity when he was in his prosperity : He was valour itself amongst the soldiers, wise and pleasant amongst his courtiers, terrible in battle, easy and free amongst the ladies, full of heat when any action offered itself, and courteous and affable to all sorts of people.

Henry died in the same manner as most of our sultans, that is to say, a violent death. He had lived fifty-seven years and some months, and reigned about twenty years. Several of his courtiers named him, like the first Cæsar, *All Womens Husband*, because, it was believed, he never saw any that he fancied, but he obtained her. He had fourteen children, six by the queen, and the others by four of his mistresses. She who was called the Beautiful Gabrielle, of the family of Estree, seemed to have more power on his heart than all others ; he often carried her about with him in his army, and to the places he besieged in person. Henry was wont to say, " It was as difficult to know how to love well, to prepare a feast, and to dance at the same time agreeably, as to draw up an army for battle, consisting of several nations."

And when he was more advanced in years, he said, “ He loved dancing, for it made him appear young ; he loved play, for it shewed he could be angry ; and ladies, because, he said, he believed a man ought to love all the days of his life.”

He was so impatient at play when he lost, that he seemed to be as much concerned at the loss of an hundred crowns, as at the taking of a city from him.

He often disguised himself like a peasant to approach his mistresses without being known ; and he has often carried on this humour to that degree, as to drive asses laden with fruit, and sometimes carry a truss of hay on his shoulders.

When he was peaceably settled in his kingdom, he said to those who were his greatest intimates, “ That he that grew weary at difficulties, did not deserve those things which might be acquired without trouble. I saw myself a king, said he, without having a kingdom, an husband without a wife, a captain without soldiers, and liberal without having any thing to give. I have had, in fine, a kingdom, children in lawful marriage, my troops are numerous, and I can dispose of several millions.”

This prince has been wounded several times, has received three wounds in the wars, and three others on his throne in the calms of peace. The actions which have gained him most glory have been, the winning of four battles, whence he came out conqueror, having very few troops, and his enemy having very numerous armies ; the general peace he gave to Europe ; the reconciliation of the Venetians with the Latin church, which had excommunicated them ; and the great project I spake to thee about in my foregoing letter.

The pope’s nuncio having one day asked him how long he had made war ? his answer was, “ All the days of my

life ; and my armies have never had any other general but myself." He was seen once for forty hours together on horseback, and he led at that time an unhappy life, yet he bore up with an invincible courage, which made his soldiers call him the King of Iron. At the same time he held a morsel of coarse bread in one hand, he would with the other form on the ground the design of an entrenchment ; and when he would show his friends the finest gallery of his palace, he would at the same time lead them down into his stables to see his horses. He was wont to say, " That a king who would reign happily, must not do all things which he may." He had such a greatness of mind, and was so merciful, that he pardoned those who conspired against his life. He showed oft to those that were about him, a soldier that was a stranger, and had wounded him in a battle, whom he recompensed for doing his duty, and made him one of his guards.

Though he was not learned, yet he read books of his religion, and took a singular pleasure in history, and conversing with learned men. Hearing one night the *Annals of France*, and being almost half asleep in his bed, he bade his reader continue his reading, for he would sleep no more that night.

Having laid siege to a most important place, in a most cold season, he slipped one night, wrapt up in his cloak, to the places where the labourers were at work, and heard a soldier there cursing both God and himself ; yet, without concerning himself any farther, he whispered in this soldier's ear, " God hears thee, and the king too, for ought thou knowest ; if thou canst not work, hold thy peace, and 'be gone." The night following, the king setting to work himself, to excite others, he caused this soldier to be called unto him, and thus spake to him,



“ Help me to remove this earth, and do not swear, for now the king hears thee.”

To correct the vices, the injustices, and violences of others, he did not use lessons, but gave examples. And one day that he heard one of his captains in a rage, for that his creditors had seized on all he had, to his horse and sword, he thus spake to him, “ I that am thy sovereign have paid my debts, and sold all that I am worth for that end ; and thou that art my subject oughtest to do the same thing without murmuring :” And then, taking him apart, he gave him some jewels to help him out.

He often showed the Marshal de Biron to his friends, and thus spake to them about this captain, “ This man knows how to act, as well as talk ; and I have a great love for him.” Yet he some time after caused him to be put to death, having three times pardoned his disloyalty. This captain having continued his plots against his life, and against the state, yet remembering he had loved him, he would spare one part of the shame of his punishment, and therefore ordered he should be executed in prison.

A scholar, two monks, and a fool, attempted at several times to kill him ; and, as I have already told thee, he was several times wounded, and at last received a mortal stroke. A woman that had undertaken to poison him was burnt alive ; and this foolish creature said at her death, thinking to lessen her crime, “ That having foreseen the king was to have been stabbed to death by the hand of a ruffian, she would therefore procure him a more easy and honourable death.”

Henry extremely loved hunting ; and one day being in pursuit of a stag, and far distant from his company, a great spectrum appeared to him, with a black and terrible countenance, with all the equipage of a hunter, hav-

ing a leash of dogs, and said these words to him in a dismal tone, "Expect me, and hear me, repent and amend thy life; dost thou understand me?" Thou mayest easily believe this vision did not a little disturb him. Yet he was more troubled at what a peasant one day told him, who spake to him with great freedom; and his discourse gave him that disturbance which he could never get rid of. This man talked to the prince often with great familiarity when he found him in the field; and one day held this discourse to him: "We are here two men; thou art a great king, and I a poor peasant; yet I am perhaps a better man, because I am more innocent: I have said all the good I can of thy person to my friends, being sensible of thy justice, thy bounty and liberality: But all these virtues are horribly soiled by a grievous vice, which God will never forgive thee, unless thou leave it off—thou committest, great prince, continual adulteries."

It is certain this prince acknowledged to some of his confidants, that he had that day heard in particular a preacher, who, without any skill in theology and rhetoric, had more moved him than all the doctors of the Sorbonne put together could do. This Sorbonne is a college in Paris, famous for learned divines.

This prince put a pleasant trick on his confessor, who often urged him to forsake his mistresses, and content himself with the embraces of his wife. He ordered a cook, who was wont to dress this doctor's victuals, to give him nothing to eat but partridges; which so greatly tired him, that he could not forbear complaining to the king himself, that this cook was so wilful and humourfome, that he would let him have nothing but partridges; so that he grew so weary with that kind of food, as made him sick at the thoughts of it: The prince on-

ly answered him, " Always the queen, always partridges."

He loved learned men, and was a great patron of them; yet he said that necessity obliged him to follow arms, but had he been left to his own inclination, he would have chosen to have been a scholar.

He had no great esteem for physicians; as believing these kind of people wish ill to men; being of Tiberius's mind, who thought that a man of thirty years of age needed them not.

But on the contrary, he most esteemed historians, and gave pensions to several of them in Germany, Italy, and other places; saying oft, that if any one could find the books of Titus Livy which are wanting, and those of Tacitus, that he would willingly bestow on him the same gift of three cities, which Xerxes made to a Greek captain; the one for bread, the second for wine, and the third for clothing; and therefore there are above fifty authors who have written his history. He envied Augustus, by reason of the happiness of having so many learned men in his reign; and that he more esteemed Mæcnas, living a peaceable citizen at Rome, than Alexander triumphing over all Asia; and that Mæcnas's patronizing and recompensing illustrious men that excelled in Rome in all arts, had rendered his name immortal, together with that of his sovereign.

He bewailed the great pains he had taken to obtain the command of others; and for his having learned nothing himself; affirming, it had been better for him to have learned to command himself. He was also wont to say, " That a wise prince ought never to refuse a peace, unless it be found more prejudicial than war."

Being one day conversing with the Spanish ambassador, he began to walk very fast; and perceiving the astonish-

ment of this minister, " You see (says he) that I can still mount on horseback, and march on foot too, if it be necessary ; and that the gout has not deprived me of the use of my legs." His valour was so admirable, that a grandee of Spain being at a ceremony, wherein the sword of this prince was carried naked before him, he stopt openly him that carried it, and kissed it, saying, he did this honour to the sword of the first and chiefest captain of the world.

A chemist one day presented him with a receipt to change lead into gold ; to whom he answered, in making a large empty coffer to be brought to him, " When thou hast filled this coffer with the metal thou talkest of, come to me, and I will give thee as much lead as thou wilt have."

Being at Fountainbleau, a place famous since several ages, and showing all the buildings there to a foreign prince, who told him, when he had showed him the chapel, " That he had lodged God in too narrow a compass ;" he answered, " That God was better lodged in the heart, than in great edifices of stone."

When he drew the designs against the mussulmans, which I mentioned in my other letter, he did an action of generosity very beneficial to the Moors who were driven out of Spain, permitting above fifty thousand men, who had past the Pyrenees, to embark themselves in the ports of Provence and Languedoc, to retire into Afric. I cannot call to mind that time without bewailing the loss of a million of persons, who perished by divers accidents and miseries.

After a battle, wherein Henry ran a great hazard, he said, " He had often fought for victory, but at this time he fought for his life."

He had used more boots than shoes ; and he vaunted

he had been less time in bed, than the Duke of Mayenne had been at table; this latter commanding then the army of the league.

This king desired to be thought a real father to his subjects; he therefore applied himself in searching the means of redressing the infamous abuses of the bar; but he advanced not much in the business, whatever care he used; it being impossible for him to bridle the covetousness of the lawyers, and to hinder the length of suits, or correct the injustice of judges, to leave nothing to be done by his successors. He seemed to be much troubled many times, when he spake of these kind of things, in that there were in Paris more courts and lawyers than in all the vast empire of the Turks; his design being, after the example of the mussulmans, to make all suits, which were everlasting by the knavery of the lawyers, to be decided in three days; and he therefore designed also to burn the books of all those who had written infinite commentaries on this subject, which served only to ruin the people, and caused oftentimes amongst relations, friends, and neighbours, such broils, as may be said to do more mischief than a civil war. He affirmed, that in imitating herein the Turks, he should use his subjects as his real children, and hinder them from devouring one another; that he would cause sharp nails and razors to be fastened to the seats where the judges sat, that those who suffered themselves to be corrupted might sit thereon: And indeed in this particular I cannot but wonder at the Christians blindness.

We see oftentimes decided in one only campaign, the differences of two great states; but a suit in law for twenty sequins shall often last a man's whole life, and perhaps be entailed on his heirs.

But hear a remarkable example of the sincerity of this



sovereign. There were who would have persuaded him to have apprehended the Duke of Savoy, who came to Paris to terminate some differences he had with him.—He answered those that advised him with this: “That Francis the First, one of his predecessors, had taught him, a prince was more obliged to do what he had promised, than to obtain what he desired; that it was in his power to have apprehended a prince far more considerable, but would not do it, suffering the Emperor Charles the Fifth to pass out of his kingdom, who had come therein on his word. After this (added he) shall Henry give such an example to princes? If the Duke of Savoy has often broke his word with me, it does not therefore follow I must imitate him: Crimes can never be authorised by examples.” The same Duke of Savoy having asked him what revenue he drew from his kingdom, he answered him in these terms, “I draw as much as I will, because I make myself beloved; whence it is that my subjects count all our estates are common.”

He answered very pleasantly to a prince’s envoy, who came with a compliment of condolence for the death of his son, who had been dead near a year, “That he was no longer grieved at that loss, seeing God had given him two more since.”

A captain of great reputation having said, that the king’s liberalities, though several times reiterated, could not oblige him to love him; Henry sent him word, “He would heap so many favours on him that he would force him at last.”

He often used this proverb, “More flies are taken with a drop of honey, than a ton of vinegar.”

A monk entertaining him one day about military affairs, “Open your breviary, father (said he), and show me where you learned these fine lessons.”

One day a tailor presenting him with a book of politics, he said to the chancellor, who was there present, Monsieur Chancellor, cut me out a suit of clothes; here's a tailor who understands your trade, and tells me how I shall govern my kingdom."

One day, when the pope's nuncio was at a great feast, where there were between twenty and thirty ladies of great beauty, he told this prelate, "He had been in several battles, but never found himself in so great danger before."

Nothing seems more agreeable than the answer he made to the provost of the merchants of Paris, who was urgent with him to consent to an impost, which was to be laid on the fountains of the town, to furnish the expence of forty deputies of the Switzers, who came into France to renew their ancient alliance with this kingdom; and his answer was, "That this magistrate should find some other expedient than to change water into wine; which was a miracle that never any body wrought but Jesus Christ;" who is, as thou knowest, the Christians saviour; and, for thy farther instruction, it is necessary for thee to know, the Switzers love wine above all things in the world, and that not without reason.

This prince went to the wars at the age of fifteen, and at seventeen killed an enemy, and in the year following he saved the life of one of his captains, and had his horse killed under him. He was in five battles, and in more than an hundred combats, and at the siege of above two hundred places. He sustained seven different wars, in which his enemies acknowledged, that he had fifty-five armies upon him at several times, and in different places, and always obtained some considerable advantage.

Those that have given him the term of Great, have given him his true name. He was highly esteemed by

all nations ; and thou knowest very well, that our sultans, though the mightiest monarchs in the universe, have admired this great prince's fortune and valour.

Above fifty historians have written his life ; above five hundred poets have published his praises.

I will leave thee at present the liberty of comparing this king with those whom thou wilt choose from amongst the heroes.

If Mahomet XI. has not done more than him, he may be compared to him in warlike actions, with this difference, that King Henry conquered the Gauls who were of his patrimony, and Mahomet conquered twelve kingdoms and an empire, because he was persuaded that all the earth belonged to him. Henry subdued the city of Paris, and Mahomet made himself master of Constantinople.

The King of France left an infinite number of marks behind him of his grandeur, on marble, and in the writings of famous authors, and Mahomet left only on his tomb, those which showed what he had designed to execute, but never could do it, which was, to take Rhodes, and subdue proud Italy.

We must also acknowledge, there was never found in any Mahometan prince, the admirable clemency of Henry, showing himself herein greater than in vanquishing his enemies ; contrary to Mahomet, who showed only great kindness to an ox, whom he caused to be carefully fed, because he would never forsake the tomb of his master, whom that prince had killed, abiding always by it, and expressing his sorrow by horrible bellowings. On all other occasions he was very cruel ; far from the humour of this French king, who heaped benefits on those who drew blood of him. Mahomet, by a barbarous cruelty, caused the bellies of twenty of his inno-

cent pages to be ript open, to discover him that had eaten a melon in his garden.

Henry was a great lover of ladies, and an extreme admirer of that sex; and Mahomet, jealous of the too great beauty of his mistress, cut off her head himself in a full divan. And farther, if Mahomet gave in the east, a great example of justice, in putting his own son to death, for deflouring the daughter of the Bassa Achmet in a bath; Henry gave a greater in his own person, in repairing at the head of his army, the outrage offered to a young girl, from whom he could not fear any vexatious consequences.

Be sure, however, to be silent in these judgments I make, and show thyself discreet, if thou intendest to hold any correspondence with me.

Imitate the bees; gather from so many flowers presented thee, what appears to thee the sweetest and most proper to form Mustapha's mind, and supple his spirit like wax.

I could relate to thee more things touching this Henry, but there is no necessity of writing all; that thou mayest have space to imagine what such a prince might have done, who had re-established his fortune by his valour alone.

Let me know of thy departure; and when thou shalt arrive at the place of thy retreat, forget not thy faithful friend Mahmut, who wishes thou mayest prove an happy tutor to the son of a prince, and a faithful minister of a wise emperor.

Paris, 18th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

## B O O K III.

LETTER I.—*To MUSLU REIS EFFEENDI, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

SCARCE had I finished my letter to Egri Boynou, when news came from the coast of Provence, of so extraordinary and scandalous an event, that I cannot but inform thee, who art a wise and experienced person, of it; and because I would have thee set it down in the sacred register-books of the empire of which thou hast the charge.

Affam Bassa, a corsary of Algiers, died at the age of forty years; the relation of whose death was attended with such horrid circumstances, that even the enemies of the Alcoran do detest them.

It is said, that being sensible he was near his end, he caused two young Christian slaves to be strangled, who were nobly descended, and for whose ransom great sums of money might have been expected, without alleging any reason for his cruelty; nay, after he had confessed he had no cause of complaint against them, having observed from certain tokens in their countenances that they were of a sweet disposition and inclined by nature to be faithful. When he was laying out, there was found a kind of fine scarf about him, with these words embroidered on it in letters of gold; “Affam Bassa will have the handsomest of his slaves to be buried alive with him, being desirous of good company in his voyage into the other world.”

The report of so terrible an adventure, has increased the hatred of the French against us, and that in so excessive a manner, that I am forced to keep myself concealed, lest I should by my zeal discover myself, being



not able to endure the blasphemies of our enemies. There is no question but this cruel monster is kept by the black angels in the other world.

God grant that so horrid a crime may not corrupt the rest of Afric. However, may I be so free as to counsel you ; let the body of this impious wretch Affam be dug up and burnt, and his ashes thrown into the sea, to drown the memory of him.

Mahmut salutes thee from the town of the universe, the fullest of noise ; and wishes thee at Constantinople, or wherever else thou art, a long sequel of happy years, and after death the enjoyment of the “ blis of our hundred twenty-four thousand prophets.”

Paris, 18th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1639.

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II.—*To the Invincible VISIER AZEM, at the Camp under Babylon.*

BEFORE I give thee an account, great and magnanimous Visier, of whatever I have done to satisfy the curiosity of Cardinal Richlieu, I am obliged to tell thee how I spend my leisure hours.

It is impossible I should observe exactly the motions of this court, without following it, and holding a correspondence with people of all sorts, as tradesmen, soldiers, scholars, seamen, politicians, and even musicians.

The court consists of all these professions, and there are some particular persons who are masters of all these sciences, of which number is Cardinal Richlieu. He is not content with this his knowledge, but seeks still for farther light in the commerce of all persons of merit who arrive here ; neglecting nothing which may enrich this kingdom with new discoveries in arts and sciences, out of

love to his country, and desire to render his ministry more famous.

Thou seest by this, invincible Bassa, that to keep company with courtiers, who have so many different qualities, a man must have some for his share, that he may say something in his turn, and not be always a bare hearer of other people's discourse.

For this purpose, the particular study to which I applied myself whilst I was a slave in Sicily, does much help me, though not sufficiently. It was books I read in this island, not men. Now, knowing my business required much dissimulation, an awakened mind, and especially prudence, eloquence, and learning, to speak properly on occasions; great reading, to obtain the knowledge of ancient and modern things; a refined policy, to discover or conceal one's self, and to counterfeit sometimes a mighty honest man: Nothing, I say, appeared to me more conducing to this purpose, than the turning over histories; and therefore I have earnestly applied myself to this work. And because few books are not sufficient, and a great many breed confusion, I have happily got admision into the acquaintance of an ancient learned man, whose study consists of none but choice books, and has travelled over most parts of the world; not like Apollonius, to learn the language of birds and beasts; but to know the customs, laws, virtues, and defects of nations. I was first for informing myself of all the prodigies which the God of the Jews had done in favour of that ungrateful people. I afterwards inquired into the life and doctrine of the Messias, whom the Christians worship. I also looked into what had been done considerable at Athens and Sparta, Thebes, Rome and Carthage, and carefully remarked what divinities were adored in those so famous places, and found that the great philosophers and captains, who made such a noise about

their religions, had at bottom none at all. Having run over what the Christians call the Old and New Testament, the histories of Josephus, Xenophon, Polybius, Thucydides, Livius and Tacitus, my greatest application has been, and shall be for the future, to read and meditate on the works of the great Plutarch, especially his lives of illustrious Greeks and Romans, related by him with so great exactness. And thus far have I arrived in this short space, and here I have stopped. I have learned by the reading of Plutarch, to amuse the Cardinal Richlieu; to whom I offered myself two days ago, and have put into his hands the following discourse, made after the manner of Christians, and have stripped myself, if a man may so speak, of the manner and style of the Turks, as I have done of their habits, the better to disguise Titus, the faithful slave of the great Amurath.

*“ Great Cardinal, and most sage Minister of the Greatest of Christian Kings.*

“ Titus of Moldavia is come to wait on you, according to your commands, not to entertain you with the riches of Asia, nor in what manner, by the wisdom of your counsels, and forces of the king your sovereign, you may destroy the mighty Turkish empire, of whom you have no reason to complain; but, to tell you what seems most agreeable to the greatness of your genius. Know then, sage moderator of the French monarch, that I shall not offer any thing which may make you hate me, and repent of believing me, seeing what I propose is an easy enterprize, and full of glory. Thy king has a son, who will one day inherit the greatness and authority of his father; you know not the temper and dispositions which this heir may have, being as yet so much a child, that a man cannot gather any thing certain of

this matter. But a prince that has been so long looked for, requires extraordinary designs to be laid for him, and great preparations made betimes to raise a palace that may be worthy to entertain him. I would propose to you a palace, I say, of miraculous architecture, the like was never seen or imagined, and which you may with your own hands rear up in Paris; which must be of a square form, whose corners shall regard Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and whose richness shall draw all nations to it. You will not need stone, sand, wood, nor iron for this work. The architects which you shall employ shall have the secret, with their pen, ink, and paper, to raise this edifice, which shall be of a more lasting duration, than the pantheon of Agrippa, and whereon, as on the temple of Solomon, there should be no noise of hammers.

“ Think not, wise minister, they are chimeras which Titus has in his head. Hear then the design of this majestic palace, whose foundations are already laid by Plutarch, with materials more precious than gold or rubies. Thou knowest the happiness this philosopher had, of rendering immortal the actions of so many great men, of whom, perhaps, there might have been no mention, had Plutarch lain silent. Men now read in the most remote provinces of the Indies, written on leaves and barks of trees, the lives of Alexander, Cæsar, Scipio, Pompey, and Xerxes. Amongst the solitaries of the most desert parts of Arabia, and amongst the dervises who dwell at Medina, are found written in Arabian characters, the histories of Numa, Aristidas, Cato, Lycurgus, and Epaminondas. The Spaniards and Portugueses have rendered this author so famous in China and Japan, that these barbarians, not contented with having translated into their languages all the lives of the Greeks and Ro-

mans, they have ordered (if I mistake not) that every five years new copies be made, to the end they may be eternally preserved. I have seen myself at Constantinople above an hundred volumes in silken paper, wherein the works of this famous Greek are read with veneration by the greatest captains, lawyers, and divines; and these works are enriched with most curious notes in Arabic, in Persian, and the Turkish language, by the express orders of the sultans, who make them be preserved as illustrious monuments of the ancient Greek eloquence. You are not ignorant of the esteem which Solymán the Great had of Pompey, Cæsar, Pyrrhus, and Alexander; and that he never undertook any military enterprize till he had consulted these great masters in the art of war; being wont to say, He knew not whether Alexander or Pyrrhus had showed more valour in engagements, than Plutarch had showed wit and judgment in describing them. But in a voyage I made into Germany, what did not an old rabbin tell me, in showing me the lives of illustrious men of this incomparable author translated into Hebrew, which he carried ever about with him? He assured me, that the curious of his religion set such a value on them, that there are above ten thousand manuscript copies dispersed in the synagogues, both in the eastern and western parts.

“ Men, women, and children, know of what account this famous author is in all our Europe. He now speaks all languages; the English, the Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Polanders, and Hollanders, have naturalized him among them. And you know very well, Sir, that in this kingdom of France, the learned, not content with having him translated into their idiom, they carefully adorn their libraries with this author in his own natural



tongue, and have collected the Latin, Italian, and Spanish versions of him.

“ But it is now sixteen hundred years since Plutarch keeps silence ; so many men famous for their knowledge, and so many great captains who have lived since, are unknown to the world, because they have met with no Plutarch to know them. And this is the stately building which I offer you to finish who are so great a lover of glory ; for God has given you a mind, with a necessary power, to finish what Plutarch has so profitably begun.— Raise up immediately, by your authority, on the precious foundation which this incomparable philosopher has laid, the walls and roof of this vast building. Order lodgings to be made ready for all the heroes who could not enter into this first edifice, I mean those illustrious dead, whose lives have not been carefully collected, and who should honour Europe, Asia, and Africa, where they were born ; and the new world will yield you wherewith to fill this palace with Atabalippa’s and Montezuma’s.

“ Hereby wilt thou be the restorer of those ruins which time has made ; and in raising the statues of so many excellent persons in civil administrations, in war, and in good letters, you will raise up an infinite number throughout the world, as the first emperor of the Romans did. It is to no purpose to say, there are a great many authors that have written since Plutarch the actions of several great commanders, kings, and great ministers, whose virtues were eminently conspicuous both in peace and war. I hope I shall not give just offence in saying, that few of these writers have observed Plutarch’s excellent method ; for either they appear obscure, by reason of their great conciseness, or the facts are ordinarily confounded in general histories, or written by interested or

passionate pens, who disguise the truth, and impose fabulous relations on the world. For a proof of this, be pleased to examine particular events related in the lives of Francis I. king of France, and of the Emperor Charles V. and you will find there are those who assure us, that Charles died a faint; and that scarcely was he expired when “flower-de-luces were seen to spring up in his chamber, which yielded a most admirable scent;” whilst others affirm, that this hero died an heretic by the assistance of his confessor, who had embraced the Lutheran doctrine. And how many romances are made of Francis I. ? Has it not been said, that he fought a duel with this emperor; and that this prince, passing through France, the king, by a motive of generosity (beyond any precedent) offered him his kingdom? That Charles had one day sat on Francis throne, and condemned a malefactor, and afterwards reprieved him, as a mark of his authority? And has it not been moreover said, that Francis took Charles in a battle? How many false relations have been made of Andrew Doria, and Barbarossa, two famous sea captains, the one a Christian, and the other a mussulman, and both of them chief admirals of two mighty Emperors, Charles V. and Solyman? Has it not been confidently affirmed, that Barbarossa, being in the Archipelago, gave a visit, in the disguise of a monk, to Doria? That in an island where this interview was made, they had sworn, one on the gospel, the other on the Alcoran, to help one another to conserve their authority, which their employs gave them, at sea; and to make themselves more necessary to their sovereigns, they were always to avoid a decisive combat, that they might not ruin one another? That they had moreover both signed this treaty with their own blood? Has there not been added to this fable, that the Turkish admiral sent

to Doria a Moor, who pretended to be a fugitive from the Ottoman army, and wore two pearls of an inestimable price in his ears ; and that in exchange Doria had assured Barbarossa not to interrupt him whenever he pleased to invade any of the coasts of Italy ?

“ It is time, that under thy auspicious conduct, the lives of great personages be cleared from those false relations which corrupt them, and be orderly inserted into the books of the most excellent Plutarch, with such a kind of title,

“ Here is the rest of the Lives of Illustrious Men,  
“ from the Emperor Trajan to Lewis the Just, of those  
“ that have excelled in Arms, Learning, Affairs of State,  
“ and of those who have held the first Rank in the  
“ Church in all Parts of the World ; and these Histories have been collected by a College of the learnedest  
“ Men in Europe, consisting of Spaniards, French, Italians, and Germans, under the auspicious conduct of  
“ his Eminency Cardinal Richlieu.”

“ I would have three persons of each nation to attend this work, and who should make their abode in Paris, as being the principal city in France. And I propose Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and French, as the most polished nations, and who have furnished the world with the most able men. Now, every nation having its particular way of speaking and acting, the edifice will be the more agreeable, and each architect will have greater room to show his skill. Those who shall read these works, will find, in the softness of the French style, wherewithal to mollify the too severe gravity of the Spanish eloquence. The sincerity of the Germans, ever attended with some kind of dryness, will appear without rudeness with the flowers and good sense of the Italian writers. And as all the world will be interested in this magnificent design, so we must

not doubt but the wisest of all these states will take care in the choice of the subjects which they will propose. And, in fine, if thou wilt have the chief men in the world, thou needest not want the secret of raising up Plutarchs. Be not weary of giving marks of thy liberality ; for if thou wilt have Titus Livy's, become Mæcenas.

“ It doth not belong to me to say in what manner it is necessary on this occasion to separate them of several nations, and to distribute these employs : Thou art equitable and prudent, so that this work being begun, the end will have a success answerable to its beginning. I shall only put thee in mind, that thou wilt not a little contribute to render thy immortality more glorious, if thou rememberest the Turks, thy sworn enemies, being persuaded thou mayest find amongst the Ottoman emperors, bas-fas and visiers, wherewithal to enrich the new Plutarch. Let not the greatness of the work discourage thee ; how great soever it be, thy wit and courage are above it ; and thou wilt not want ancient and modern authors to assist thee. Suetonius will furnish thee with the Lives of the Cæsars, which may be left entire as they are. Diogenes Laertius gives as good an account of many of the philosophers. You will receive advantage from the works of Æmilius Probus, Paulus, Jovius, and several others, who have acquired immortal reputation by the books which they have given the public. You will find a draught already made of the history of two hundred and twenty-eight emperors, from Julius Cæsar to Ferdinand III. and Ibrahim I. the one emperor of Germany, and the other of Turkey ; which thou shalt cause to be carefully examined by the college, to clear up such things as are obscure, adding what is wanting, and retrenching events of which there is no sufficient proof, and which seem fabulous ; and, in a word, for drawing up particular lives

which are to be met with in general histories, which have been the method of most writers of late ages.

“ I would also have Plutarch’s manner followed, of comparing the illustrious men of one nation with those of another ; where the discreet writer having weighed the reasons which make for the one and the other, pronounces a sentence which does both delight and instruct the reader.

“ The most important instruction then which can be given, being the secret of knowing men perfectly, who seek with so great care to hide themselves ; the true means for this is the choice of matter, that the reader may not lose his time, nor study in vain, but gather the fruit which all men of sense search for, which is, to know what is good, that they may follow it, and evil, to avoid it. On this ground you will be easily persuaded, there is greater pleasure to behold the firmness of Scipio, who passes with one only galley to find out Siphax, than there is in considering him when he gives battle to Hannibal in the plains of Rama. We are more edified in seeing this young general a conqueror, and yet so continent, as to send the finest woman in the world, who was his prisoner, to Lucius the Spanish prince, her husband, without touching her, than in the relation of an hundred sieges of places, where the effects which the soldiers fury produces hunger and thirst, and the effusion of human blood yields horror instead of diversion. In like manner, Sir, you will acknowledge, that a prince or captain will be more instructed by seeing Francis, who lived like a king, though in prison at Madrid, who caresses and recompences learned men all the world over ; and in seeing Fabricius, who refuses and despises the greatest honours which are offered him, with immense riches, and who snatches away the poison from the mouth of the greatest enemy of the Roman people, than all the com-



bats and most bloody battles fought by Pyrrhus, Charles V. and the great Tamerlane.

“ I have made you this long discourse as a mark of my obedience ; and Titus of Moldavia, at the feet of your eminency, supplicates you to consider, that when by your negotiations, counsels and armies which receive your orders, you shall have added new kingdoms to that which your master holds ; when, for the benefit of trade and navigation, you shall have joined all the seas together ; and when, in a word, you shall raise bridges in Paris, pyramids with more palaces than were built by the Cæsars, and all the kings of Egypt ; these piles will not be immortal, but subject to the injuries of time : Whereas, on the contrary, if you send for the twelve architects which I mentioned, to raise the stately palace aforesaid, all the world will bless the name of Armand Cardinal de Richlieu, restorer of the republic of learning almost ruined ; and who, like another Archimedes, hath known by the examples of the virtue of illustrious men, snatched away by death out of the world, to combat and destroy the vices and ignorances of the living.”

If thou approvest not, magnanimous Visier, what I offered to the King of France's minister, punish me not for a fault which was not designed, having, on the contrary, imagined to do thee a very agreeable piece of service. I thought I could not take a better course to conceal thy slave Mahmut, and to divert this cardinal from some projects, which I am informed he designs against the Turkish empire. Should he undertake the great work I set before him, thou seest the sultans will have some share in it ; and he will, I say again, have by this means, not to mention any thing else, his hands so full of business, that he will not have the least time or ability to molest us.

I supplicate thee, prostrate at thy feet, to call to mind the general dislike of what happened to Athens, when it was sacked and taken, such prodigious numbers of books being burnt in all arts and sciences, which had been a collecting several ages, and preserved with such great care; and so much the more, inasmuch as one may be assured there is nothing to be feared from those that make learning their whole business, who are always averse to war, as finding their reckoning only in the tranquillity of a well established peace.

Thou shalt receive, by the first opportunity, whatever I can discover of importance for thee to know, either for the good of the empire, in which thou holdest so great a rank, or to satisfy thy curiosity, provided the frosts hinder not the passage of couriers, as they will assuredly retard the progress of the armies, which are constrained to lie still during this rigorous season.

God give thee an entire victory over the enemies of the mighty Amurath, and make thee the conqueror of all nations.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1639.

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### III.—To LUBANO ABUFEL-SAAD, an Egyptian Knight.

THE king, some days ago, was present at a ball where there was a great number of persons of quality of both sexes. Cardinal Richlieu, who never loses the sight of this prince, was there also. It was observed, that at the end of this divertisement, the cardinal would have gone out before every body, but dared not, and indeed could not get through the crowd, which made him so impatient, as was remarked by all, even the king himself, who taking him a little a-part, very seriously bid him pass

on, seeing he was master. Now, what did this minister do in this astonishment, but answer nothing? And taking a flambeau out of the hand of one of the pages, he carried it himself before the king, with a countenance that showed neither despite nor confusion. Those that took notice of the name of master, which the king had given him, interpreted it in his favour; and there were them who thought, that in abasing himself so low, he plainly showed the design he had of raising himself the higher; however, every one thereon spake what he thought most proper.

I give thee an account of this passage, remembering what thou didst in the presence of thy master, throwing thyself out at a window, to take up a little note which Amurath by chance had let fall; which action of thine, being known in this country, this action of the cardinal was compared with it; yet with this difference, that the cardinal, without rising from the ground, has made a greater leap than thou. God preserve thee from falling into a precipice, if thou beest fool enough to leap a second time.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1635.

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#### IV.—*To MEHEMET, Page-Eunuch.*

THOU hast recovered from a great sickness, and I expect one. I have had for some days a faintness, which does extremely depress me; but by the grace of God, I need not yet the physician. The letter which I received from thee this moon, has given me some ease in my indisposition, which is no new thing with me, being necessitated to live so far from my friends, country, yea, and religion too. And though it may seem difficult to be a

saint, in passing one's days in a profane place, yet think not my piety grows lukewarm, or my friendship diminished ; seeing I have made a mosque of my heart, where friends are ever present. Be then persuaded, it is impossible for Mahmut to become unfaithful, and lose the affection he has for his friends ; for he never ceases to love where he has once begun. It is true, indeed, that I call myself Titus at present, and am clothed in an odd sort of dress ; yet this is no hinderance of my affection to my religion, my country, and my friends.

The ancient Greeks have written a great deal about friendship, and the duties of a friend : But there remains still behind more than what they have said, as there remains more to do than they have done. The word, friend, is a common name, and appropriated by most people ; but where wilt thou find a man that gives proofs of a true and unfeigned friendship ? I think I am no hypocrite ; be thou as true to me at Constantinople, and inform me what passes in the seraglio, and how it goes with our friends and relations in all parts.

I shall give thee no account of the transactions of the infidels, amongst whom I live, being tired with writing them to the Grand Visier and the Kaimacham. Imitate me not herein, for thou aboundest with leisure ; let me then hear from thee every moon.

I have had several fits of laughter, at the pleasant adventure of the chambermaid to the old slave, with the eunuch Meleeh Aubi. Blessings on the heart of Mahomet : I believe the holy Prophet will laugh himself in his paradise, when the angel his messenger, who brings him news from this world, shall give him an account of what these two persons have ridiculously done in honour of him. Could there ever be a greater simplicity, than to eat every night a versicle of the Alcoran, written on a piece

of China fatin? Whence did this eunuch, thy comrade, learn this strange superstition; and by what spirit did he authorise that of this slave, in taking the pains to write these versicles with his own hand? And when could they imagine both of them they should make an end of this feast, seeing the whole Alcoran could not be eaten in less than six thousand forty-three days, the book containing so many versicles? Pray let me know what is done to them. They deserve not, in my poor judgment, an over-rigorous punishment, their crime being only a ridiculous devotion. The great and venerable musti will soon decide the business; yet I would fain know the manner.

I shall now impart to thee an account of a visit which I gave a solitary in my travels into Germany, who spent his days far from the commerce of the world, in a little hermitage, about fifteen miles distance from Vienna. This man, who is now very old, has passed forty years of his life in great austerity, doing every thing our famous Santons are celebrated for; and thou shalt know what moved him to this severe penance, and to retire after this manner. It is said, that in his youth, having been threatened for some misdemeanor with imprisonment, he hid himself in the house of a faithful friend, lying in a barrel covered over with straw, where was brought him privately his diet. Whilst he thus lay concealed in the vessel, a certain person went up into the garret, his prison, with his host's sister; when these two persons thinking themselves alone, came to such familiarities as much scandalized this new Diogenes, who saw all that passed through the crevices of his tub; and being not able to contain his resentments, he thus passionately brake out, "God sees you, you wretches, and man too." In a word, his indignation was so great, that the tub or barrel was overthrown; with the noise of which,



and his scrambling up, the two lovers were so affrighted, that the gallant for haste broke his neck down stairs, and the nymph lay dead in a swoon on the place. This strange surprise to all, especially the sight of so filthy and tragical a spectacle, so affected this young man, as made him retire from the world into the solitude where he now remains. He lives only on bread and water; and the aversion which he has conceived on this occasion to women is so great, that there is none dares appear before him. There were two who had the curiosity of seeing this hermit, in men's clothes, but they soon repented of their visit; for this solitary, full of rage and indignation, thus welcomed them, "Get you gone, you demons, fallen from heaven for man's destruction; I know very well what you are, and cannot behold you without horror." He makes excellent exhortations to young men who visit him; and having showed them the care they ought to take to live with purity, and rule their passions, to which corrupt nature renders them subject, he also exhorts them to hold a glass before their faces, when seized with anger, or when carried forth to the commission of any brutish or unseemly action.

My letter is longer than I intended; receive, as a mark of my friendship, the long time I have entertained myself with thee, when I thought at first to speak all in two words. Give this letter, directed to thee, into Zelim's own hands; it contains things which concern his life. As to what remains, love ever thy faithful Mahmut, whilst I shall pray the sovereign of the greatest monarchs, as well as other men, that he would, after this life, give us eternal felicity, and the grace to appear innocent before his dreadful tribunal, at which all men shall be judged.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1639.

V.—*To ZELIM of Rhodes, Captain of a Galley.*

MEHEMET, page of the seraglio, will deliver, or cause to be delivered to thee, this letter, which is written to thee by Mahmut, slave and faithful minister of the great Sultan, the invincible and happy Amurath, who commands me to serve him in these parts. There is no necessity of my sending thee the picture of a man who sets forth from Leghorn for Constantinople with a design to kill thee. Thou mayest easily know him, seeing he has been six years a slave in thy galley. Adonai the Jew sent me this advice from Genoa, so important for thy life; adding, he set out with his brother, being resolved to perish, or be revenged of a great injury thou hast done him.

He has filled Italy with discourses of thy cruelties. He affirms, that having tried all ways to make him a Turk, seeing neither presents nor promises could persuade him, thou hast made him suffer the most cruel torments a man can undergo; and that being laid fast asleep, by a potion which thou causedst him to take, thou hast made him be castrated. The weapons he bears to rid himself of thee will strike thee without noise, so that thou needest be much on thy guard. He hides that which is to do thy business in a little prayer-book. Revenge, which does usually make men industrious, has put him upon concealing in this manual, a little poisoned steel dart, which is enclosed with such great art in the leather that covers it, that it is shot thence as from a bow, and strikes with such violence and swiftness, that the stroke cannot be avoided, nor scarcely felt by him that receives it, it causing not one drop of blood to follow, nor wound to be seen; so delicately tempered is the mortal weapon, that the man does unavoidably die whom it hits..

I do not doubt but this revengeful spirit will cunningly conceal himself, so that it will be hard to discover him. But having had this advice, it belongs to thee to take care of thyself; and in the mean time, correct this cruel and severe temper of thine. Thou commandest a galley manned with slaves, who live at thy charge; thou reckonest amongst thy riches three hundred Christians, who dress thy gardens, and serve thee at sea; and thou hast never remembered, they are men which may save or take away thy life; and that ranging the seas as thou dost, it is possible thou mayest meet with the same fortune, and be made a slave thyself. Thou hast never considered, that death is more supportable than slavery; and that those that despise their own lives, are masters of thine. God preserve thee, and incline thine heart to use gently thy slaves, who are so useful to thee. Follow my advice; thou hast three hundred enemies in thy house, do what in thee lies to gain their love. Learn this of a famous Roman, who made his slaves, born in his house, to be nursed with the same milk his children were. If thou art not for such an indulgence, at least cease to be cruel, otherwise thou wilt be more a slave than those that serve thee. If thou wilt not spare these people in love to them, pity their condition, and spare them in love to thyself; whereby thou wilt live in so great tranquillity as cannot be imagined. The holy Prophet guard thee from the danger threatened thee, and destroy this rash Christian who would assassinate thee.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1639.

VI.—*To the Invincible VIZIER AZEM, at the Camp before Babylon.*

THERE are various discourses here of the Grand Seignior's warlike preparations; and it is common for people to confound here, the ancient Babylon with Susa and Bagdad; but this is no great matter. It is certain all the infidels wishes are in thy favour; for they desire to see thee conqueror, not only of Babylon, but all the east; that Amurath may be the longer in his return to Greece, and choose a place far distant from the seat of his empire. It is discoursed in this court, as if the invincible sultan carries along with him to this war, four hundred thousand foot, an hundred and fifty thousand horse, and two hundred bassa's; and moreover, twelve princes tributary to the Porte. It is also said Bagdad is a place not to be won by force; that a river, the swiftest in the world, runs through the midst of it; and that the place has an hundred gates of brass, and its walls, which are very high, be defended by three hundred pieces of cannon; that the Persian forces are great enough to tire out the Ottoman army, and that the example of Cha Abbas, father to the Sophy who now reigns over the Persians, will increase their valour and obstinacy, to suffer the greatest extremities, rather than to think of a surrender. The rash resolution of this King Abbas, in the last siege of this great city, is so cried up and magnified here, that scarce is there any room left for the praises of Amurath. This prince's passing and repassing more than once in a bark, in the sight of two hundred thousand Turks, to advertise, in person, the besieged of the condition of affairs, and to give them a fresh courage, assuring them, they should be soon succoured, and having at the same time about him wherewith to hinder him from

falling alive or dead into the hands of his enemies, was an action which they think is above all eulogiums, and appears to them greater than story could ever parallel. It is said, that this king carried in his bark two great stones fastened to one and the same cord, to put them on his neck to sink himself into the river, which was of an unfathomable depth, in case he was discovered. To which they add, that Amurath, who can never have his fill of blood, will recompense thy services in the same manner he did thy predecessor's.

These infidels hold, moreover, other discourses which are very impertinent, confounding such things as are true with false; as they do the justice and liberality of the generous and ever invincible sultan, with the cruelty and avarice wherewith they reproach him. It is said likewise, that the sequins which he distributed the day whereon he was proclaimed emperor, were not by one half of the value which was set upon them: That he caused Mehemet, Bassa of Cairo, to be strangled, for no other reason, but to become master of his wealth. It is farther added, that this prince having had advice that a galley was taken, having seventy-five considerable officers belonging to the Porte on board, whilst he was diverting himself in a pleasure-house, at the entrance into Asia, he said, by way of jest, "Let's drink the health of these stout blades." It is, moreover, said, that having given his word, and promised a secure passage to the brave Facardine, an Arabian prince, he caused him to be stabbed in a thousand places in his sight. But what do not they say of his destroying the musti, and Cyril the Greek patriarch? In fine, they set forth Amurath as a sacrilegious wretch, that despises his own religion, an heretic, and enemy to our holy Prophet. They relate the particulars of Cyril's death, which makes me doubt there be



traitors at the Porte, who advertise the infidels of the most secret matters which pass there. Some say his eloquence rendered him suspected to Amurath ; and that he said these words, when he was led to the Castle of Seven Towers, “ Could I speak but once to our great emperor, he would be forced to love me, or repent.” And it is said, that having voyaged into England, he had learned magic there. Many people believed, he would introduce novelties in religion ; and, for this end, held strict correspondences with the Latinized monks ; and it is known here, that, when his sentence was pronounced, he said, “ He would rise again to torment the emperor, and perplex his affairs.” The French having blamed what I now mentioned, do extremely praise the moderation of Amurath, when he took the Persian spy, who slid into his camp in Turkish habit, and crowded amongst the true faithful ; for he caressed him, and sent him back with rich presents. They also admire the patience of this prince, in only condemning to the galleys the thirty Indian pilgrims, who occasioned his fall from his horse in the capital city of his kingdom ; for the horse was affrighted at the apparel of these men, and the strange figure they made, when they threw themselves on the ground to beg money of him ; but they at the same time charge this emperor with brutishness, for killing with his own hand immediately the horse that threw him down.

The discourses of this nature, however injurious they are, be not of great importance. But, if I be not mistaken, there is something carrying on against us with the republic of Venice. I observe its ambassador, since the loss we have had of fifteen galleys at Valentia, has frequent and secret conferences with the King and Cardinal de Richlieu. As it is not doubted but that the Ottoman empire will be revenged for so deep an injury, so it is also

judged that the Venetians will use their utmost endeavours to unite into a confederacy the Christian princes; and it is to be feared, lest they take the time when the emperor is employed in the siege of Babylon to form some enterprize, or put themselves into a condition wherein they cannot be attacked. I shall carefully observe all the motions of the Venetian ambassador; and, if need requires, dispatch an express messenger to the Kaimacham. I adore thy grandeur, buried in the dust of thy feet.

Paris, 10th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1639.

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VII.—*To the same.*

THE courier not parting till the morrow, I make use of this short time to write again to thee. Brisac, as I have already given advice, was taken by the forces of France and Swedeland; and the Duke of Weymar, who commands the army, brags, that being become master of this place, which has always been besieged in vain, he shall take several others, there being none which henceforward can resist him.

The Marechal de Bannier, one of the generals of the Swedish armies, wearied out the Imperialists in Pomerania with continual alarms. He took Gratz, a considerable place, and has beaten Galas, one of the Emperor of Germany's generals: but Fortune having changed her countenance, has favoured the emperor against the troops of the Palatine, who is taken prisoner, with Prince Rupert his brother, having been like to be drowned in the river of Wezer, whereinto he was drawn in his coach by his horses, who took fright at the noise of the cannon: and these unfortunate princes have lost on this occasion,

with their liberty, whatever was most precious to them. The Swedes have, in the mean time, increased their strength by the conjunction of new troops : They make frequent incursions on the Imperialists ; and it is thought this war will last a considerable time, by the great preparations which are made on all hands, and especially by the French, to whom it seems important that it should not end speedily.

There is news from Italy, that a discovery has been made in Piedmont of new cabals of the princes of the House of Savoy, who designed to put by the dutchess from her regency, and make themselves masters of the government during the minority of the young duke. There is a cardinal of this name, an ambitious man, a great lover of war, and given to liberality. He would fain have the chief share in the government, and be master of his nephew's fortune. This cardinal lay concealed in the state of Genoa, being clothed in an habit little becoming his character, and whence he sent his orders for the execution of whatever he had concerted with his partizans ; but the conspiracy got wind, and proved a bloody tragedy to his accomplices. It is said, that this prince having twice disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, had entered with a bag of fruit on his back into one of the most considerable towns in Piedmont, to give by his presence more heat to his party ; and that, with a greater boldness, he had entered into Turin in the habit of a capuchin, with a long thick beard, and abode there two days ; not with design of ridding himself of the prince, or his mother, but to become master both of the one and the other, to govern the state alone. But the conspiracy having been discovered, and the accomplices seized, fourscore of them were put to death by the common hangman ; and he escaped by a new stratagem. A secretary

of state of Savoy is to be reckoned amongst this number. Another cardinal, who commands the army of France, sent to the assistance of the Duke and Dutchess, had also put to death the governor of Casal, accused of treason, though he was not fully convicted of it.

It is written from Rome, that two ambassadors from the King of Hungary, who is lately elected Emperor of Germany, had made a magnificent entrance into that great city, clad after the Hungarian manner with vests, called here *a la barbaresque*; that they had above an hundred horse, whose harness were of gold and their shoes of silver; and it was especially observed, that all the foreign ministers in that court had sent their retinue to accompany them in their entrance, that it might appear more magnificent; and that these two ambassadors of the new emperor being arrived in the presence of the Infidels Mufti, whom they call the Pope, they told him their prince would continue to render him the obedience which his Father Ferdinand, now deceased, paid him; and that he recommended to his holiness his person, his house, and his state, as a new emperor, elected by the suffrages of the Princes Electors of the Empire.

Observe, magnanimous visier! the authority of this mufti. Those who are so audacious as to resist the musfulmans, will yet abase themselves at his feet, which they really kiss before they open their mouths to speak to him. The greatest Christian princes are wont to choose from amongst the most considerable persons of their state, the ambassadors which they send with great expence to pay their homage to this supreme head of their church. Moreover, these ambassadors of the new Cæsar have assured the pope, as from him, that he will never cease to make war with the enemies of the Christian faith; and it is said they received this answer:

“ That he ever respected the King of Hungary, the late elected emperor, as his son, to whom he would never be wanting in counsel, and all other necessary assistances ; and exhorted him to employ his victorious arms against the enemies of the cross ; and that, on his side, he would employ the succours of his prayers, that the church should open her treasures, by granting indulgences ; and that he would, beside this, give supplies of men and money.”

People, who are idle, amuse themselves with discourses on future events ; and those that consult the stars to penetrate into what is to come, have made a marriage between the dauphin of France, a prince born some months since, and the Infanta of Spain, lately come into the world. It is true, that at the moment this princess saw the light, the King of Spain, and the grandees of the kingdom, tried who should outdo one another in feasting, to solemnize this birth : And the like was done in France for that of the dauphin, both being accompanied with extraordinary magnificence, and prodigious liberalities.

The Catholic King has given the quality of grandee to the Duke of Modena, who was godfather to the Infanta, and has declared him generalissimo of the four seas, with a pension of twenty thousand sequins of gold. He has, moreover, made magnificent presents to the dutchess his wife, esteemed at an hundred thousand crowns ; and, besides, made knights of the Order of St. James, several gentlemen of this prince's court.

The Elector of Brandenburg has also given several splendid entertainments in his house and state, for the marriage consummated with the Duke of Saxony's son ; and, whilst I am writing, I am told there is a son born to the King of Hungary, now Emperor of Germany.



But whilst these rejoicings are in several parts of Europe, an unforeseen tempest has ruined whole countries in Germany. The damage done thereby in Franconia, and near Frankfort, is incredible ; and it lacked but little, but this same King of Hungary, now mentioned, being at the hunting of a boar, had been slain through a whirlwind, which having pulled up a great oak by the roots, of prodigious greatness, it fell so near this prince, that he received some slight hurt by a branch of it.

I pray Heavens, that all the wisdom of our holy Prophet, and the blessing of the Great God, be always upon thee, and in thee, and ever augment thy strength and good fortune, to the ruin of these Persian heretics, whose country I hope will be subjected by thy sword to our dread emperor.

Paris, 10th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1639.

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VIII.—*To BEDREDIN, Superior of the Dervises in the Convent of Cogny, in Natolia.*

THOU art happy in living long and holily too. I cannot choose but reflect with regret on thy great age, considering how infirm I am. After fifteen days illness, my strength quite failed me, so that necessitated I was to look out for a physician ; for I cannot easily commit myself to the hands of those of this country, who kill such as trust them, in the same manner as if they were their enemies. When I discourse these doctors about the state of my health, they tell me I am in imminent danger, and that my cure is hazardous. In writing thus, think not I rave, for I speak the pure truth. They will certainly kill me should I discover to them under what climate I

was born, whereas if I tell them I am of Moldavia they may chance to do me good ; though that country air is very different from that of Arabia, where I first drew my breath. To how many miseries is the life of man subject, especially mine, when I cannot speak the truth, though it be to save my life ? Pray for me, holy der-vise ; and if you hear no more from me, believe Mahmut is dead. Pardon likewise the offences I have given thee, which yet have been against my will. Adieu ! We shall see one another in God, with God, and in the bosom of God.

Paris, 12th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1639.

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IX.—*To OUCOUMICHE, his Mother, at Scios.*

PARDON me, my dear mother, if I write last to thee : Pardon me, moreover, if I have not written to thee, to pay thee the marks of my duty whilst I was in my health ; and let me seek after thee, when, perhaps, in seeking for me, thou wilt no longer find me, I am ready to die. Afflict not thyself if God calls me to him ; though I am amongst infidels, yet death holds his empire here as in other places. The worst news I can tell thee is, that commonly those who desire to live longest are soonest taken away ; and I am not ashamed to tell thee, I am one of that number. I cannot willingly, as yet, leave this lower world. O unhappy life ! O unwelcome death ! What apprehensions have I not ! And with what terrors am I not struck, since I have lived among the Christians ! They preach against our Alcoran, and we declaim against their Gospel : They affirm, that Mahomet was a great impostor ; and we worship him. They believe they only

know the truth ; and that they be the only saints, the elect and chosen of God. What then will become of us, if we be wedded to errors, and our Alcoran be only a parcel of lies ?

I have neither good nor bad news of thee, no more than of thy new spouse. God grant the merry Greek thou art married to have the vices of thy first husband, my father. Thou knowest my meaning. He called himself vicious, because he hated the virtues of the vulgar.

I thank thee not for my life ; for that is what thou least thoughtest of when thou becamest big with me. But if thou expectest some recompense for suckling me at thy own breasts, expect only words of thanks from a poor slave, who possesses nothing. Love and hate all the time of thy life ; this is the greatest inheritance thou canst expect from a son who is just a-dying. Engrave these words in thy heart, “ Love ever what is honest, and hate always what is contrary to it.” Thus will these different passions be settled on their proper object.

If my brother Pesteli be still alive, give him my love with an innocent kiss, and a touch in the hand. Our great Prophet protect and sustain thy age with the staff of Mount Liban, and obtain for thee from the mercy of the Most High, that thou mayest enjoy thy senses to the last hour of thy life. Adieu.

Paris, 12th of the 5th Moon, of the year 1639.

X.—*To PESTELI HALI, his Brother.*

**B**ELIEVING my life is near its end, I therefore, with all imaginable eagerness, write to thee, in the third place, although indeed thou holdest the first in my heart. We

shall see one another, dear Pesteli, in that world where every one receives according to his deserts. When I arrived in this great town, I was astonished at the confusion I met there, but I received no other hurt. Although the weather be very inconstant, yet the air is good, and provisions wholesome and agreeable to the taste; the water of the Seine is sweet and clear; the men are good company, and the women have done me no harm; the king has not ill used me. Cardinal Richlieu, his chief minister, does not hinder me from living after my own fashion. Our great emperor is not displeased with me, yet my distemper is impetuous; a sad faintness has seized my heart, and I begin to fall into such a languishing condition as makes me despair of health. If thou still conservest any affection for me, read this letter with compassion. Forget the ill offices I may have done thee; and if I parted without discovering to thee the occasion, give God thanks for the ability he has given me of sacrificing the tenderness which I have for so good a brother to the obedience which I owe to the emperor's commands.

Our mother will salute thee as from me, in giving thee a kiss; receive it as coming from me. Keep thy gravity, and be honest in Asia as well as Europe; and, if thou goest to Africa, suffer not thyself to be corrupted by ill examples. It is not without tears I write thee this letter. But lament not if I die, neither rejoice if I escape; for I shall be thereby no less mortal; and that tribute which I do not pay to-day, we both shall pay, with all other men, on a certain time. Prepare to part willingly; study more how thou shalt die than how thou shalt live; and if thou wouldst live till thou art old, live as if thou wert to die when thou art young.

The Great God preserve thee in the perfect use of thy  
*Vol. I.*

understanding, and guide thee into all truth ; and if thou desirest to be the best captain and commander in the world, learn to conquer thyself. Adieu.

Paris, 12th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1639.

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### XI.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

SHOULD I tell thee I am in health, I shall write an untruth ; for I am really out of order, and expect a fit of sickness, which I wish it were in my power to avoid, though it may prove short and mortal. An hectic fever puts me oft in mind, how frail and brittle a thing is man ; and that he ought in multiplicity of business, in times of prosperity as well as adversity, to think of dislodging hence. The bread I eat has no relish ; solitude appears dismal to me, and company wearies me ; for I cannot attend to what's discoursed, and yet I do not like they should say nothing ; there's nothing pleases me but drink, yet all the sea will not quench my thirst. I am restless in bed, and find myself more tired thereby than if I sat up ; and that which I loved yesterday I hate to-day. Thou knowest how I loved books ; this humour is quite changed. If the sun shines into my chamber, I as soon shut my windows, being not able to endure it ; and having remained a minute in obscurity, I am impatient for the light. Paris, where one may say strangers come from all parts, to see the varieties and diversions there to be met with, appears to me now an hospital of fools : I long for nothing more than Constantinople, and to be with my friends, imagining I shall find ease in their company. And this is the unhappy condition of thy friend, without hope of seeing any more turbans and mussulmans. I loath as much the sight of an ignorant physician, as



the Emperor Severus did a corrupt judge ; and I look on a little valet that serves me as a necessary evil. Yet I would a little divert thee, maugre the illness which has seized me. It is not above six months since I entertained this enemy in my house, which is a French valet, who makes himself a fool, of a pigmy's stature, yet a giant in roguery ; he is clad like the Graces, being half naked, and wears buskins like the poetical divinities ; his ordinary function is to sweep every day my chamber, which yet is as nasty as Augeas's stable : When I am awake he is asleep, and he is always awake when I am asleep. For this thirteen years that he has seen the light, he cannot remember he has been two hours without eating ; when he eats not openly and before folks, lest he should shame me, he will yet be sure to keep his chaps a-going on something in corners. When I went abroad I was forced to follow him ; and now that I keep my bed, it is hard to judge which of us two is the master, for he never parts with his hat from his head. He is more ready to pull off my clothes than to put them on ; which makes me chiefly careful of him at such times that he leaves me not stark naked. He is, moreover, a politician as much as any Florentine ; when he is to do any good office he falls into the Spanish pace, but to perfect a bad one, he is as nimble as Cæsar was in the quickest of his expeditions ; whence it is that I am a debtor to my own arm and hand for the service I draw from him, being like certain drugs which never yield an odour till well beaten. As to his religion, a man would imagine he held the metempsychosis, so carefully does he preserve the lice that eat him, lest in killing them he act contrary to the precepts of Pythagoras. He is moreover, besides, an irreconcilable enemy to all neatness, to water and to truth ; and he is more stinking than a synagogue, drunker than a Swiss,

and a greater liar than an oracle. In the mean time my illness increases, and my domestic enemy is so well, that he assuredly waits my death to live more honourably on my spoils. I differ much this day from what I was yesterday, and I know not whether I shall not to-morrow go to my long home. Pray the Immortal for me, and remember we were once in slavery together. Should I escape, I shall have the joy of never seeing thee in the sad condition I am ; and if I cannot escape death at this time, I shall have the satisfaction of suffering it before thee. However, believe I do not despair, though I much complain. I cease writing to thee, but I will never cease loving thee. Mahmut embraces thee in this country of infidels, having thee always in his heart, and praying for thee continually.

Paris, 12th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1639.

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## XII.—To the KAIMACHAM.

THE King of France has a dwarf called Osmin, born in a village of the Morea, and carried away in his infancy into Italy by pirates. He was bought by a Spanish lord, who afterwards made a present of him to this king, with such a *bonne grace*, as entitles magnificence to the smallest things, after the manner of that nation. The Spaniard having presented his dwarf, said no more, the dwarf making this following discourse.

“ Sir, I am a Christian, although my parents be Turks. If thou willingly receivest me for thy slave, I receive thee yet more willingly for my master, being a just and merciful prince : But I am obliged to tell thee, if thou wilt behave thyself like a master, whose liberality is guided by prudence, thou wilt never do me any hurt, nor ever do

me any great good. Shouldst thou give me opportunities of acquiring riches, and throw open the gate of honours to me, I shall thereby, perhaps, grow vicious and insolent. Bestow only one thing on me, which will not be afterwards in thy power to take away ; give me good education, and let a man of learning take the charge of me ; by which means I shall be revenged of nature, in making me but an atom of a man ; and perhaps make thy courtiers one day repent of their present laughter at me."

Osmin has behaved himself so well, and gained such credit by the subtilty of his wit, and readiness of his answers, that he is at present one of the court's choicest entertainments, and the scourge of debauched people. Coming one day to divert and comfort me in my illness, he told me, that being in private discourse with one of the women belonging to a lady of the first rank, he was forced to conceal himself speedily behind the hangings, to prevent being surpris'd in the chamber, where this lady unexpectedly entered with the Venetian ambassador, who ordinarily resides in this court, and where he heard the following discourse from this minister's own mouth.

" Madam, I shall willingly discover to you, now that we are alone, the intentions of the republic I serve, touching the Turkish affairs, provided you promise me to do me two different good turns. It is absolutely necessary we make war with these barbarians, before they declare it against us. The Ottoman family is like the mathematical compass, which enlarges itself the more it is pressed. You are not to be informed of the famous victory gained by our General Capello, who has led in triumph all the galleys of Afric ; but though Amurath be employed on the frontiers of Persia, in the siege of a most important place, yet does he already threaten to be revenged for the defeat of these barbarians. The ministers of the

Porte do also prefs him to fhew his refentment ; and we certainly know, by fecret relations from the Turkish camp, lying before Babylon, that the Grand Signior has faid in full council, that he will himfelf throw the firft fire-ball into our arfenal. That, Madam, which lies in your power is, to perfuade the king to engage in the common caufe ; and for this end make up a peace with his enemies, that he may join his naval forces with ours. On the other hand, we could wifh you would offer the contrary to Cardinal Richlieu ; becaufe this minifter ufually flighting women's counfels, will come to our purpofe through his obftinate humour of contradicting you : And I do not doubt but this artifice will fucceed, if thou perfuade him the king is refolved not to give us any affiftance. There runs a report as if our bailo has been laid hold on at Conftantinople, and retained prifoner in the Caftle of Seven Towers, by the order of the Kaimachiam. And it is added, that the Grand Signior offers a peace to the Perfians, to return fpeedily into Europe, that having no diversion on that fide, he may turn all his forces againft the republic.

“ The pope promifes much, and we need not fear but he will keep his word, being the perfon moft interefted in our affairs. He will furnifh money, join his galleys to thofe of the republic, and moreover fend us feveral ftout men. The King of Spain promifes us forty galleys, with all neceffaries, together with fifty veffels of war. The Great Duke of Tufcany will affift us with eight veffels well fet out, and fix galleys well armed. The King of Poland promifes to fend into the infidels country an army of fifty thoufand Cofacks ; and others fhall cruife about the Levantine feas with their brigantines, and efpecially the Archipelago. As to what refpects the republic, the chief families in Venice have already proffered to

set out, and entertain at their own charge, a vessel till the war be ended ; and all the great castles and towns on the firm land, freely offer to furnish the republic with fifty thousand ducats a-month. This kingdom, which is so full of men, amongst which there are so many good officers, which are rich in money, and at present so considerable at sea, must not only not trouble so noble and necessary a project, in continuing a war with Spain, but also gives its assistance, by supplies of men, money, and vessels. If you can, Madam, oblige the king to enter into this league, you will merit an everlasting remembrance, and have an hundred thousand crowns, which lie ready for you at Venice, to be paid when and where you please.

“ This is God’s cause, the occasion is favourable, and all things seem in a readiness. You may immortalize your name, and with your beauty, your credit, and eloquence, give good grounds of hope to Christendom of success, by obtaining the assistance of the most puissant of the Christian monarchs.”

This is what the dwarf heard, and what he entrusted me with since. Were I in a condition, illustrious Kaimacham, to relate particularly the life of Osmin, I am persuaded thou wouldest give entire credit to the discourse he made me.

Osmin is born a Turk, he loves me dearly, and has a certain sympathy with me ; which obliges him to seek me often, and entrust me with all the adventures of his life, treating me not only as a friend, but living with me as if I were his brother.

There being some days since I languished in bed, tormented with a distemper, which at its beginning threatened me with vexatious consequences, and which causes me to droop and languish, thou wilt pardon me if I rea-



son not much on an adventure so extraordinary. Should God restore me to my health, I shall double my care and diligence in observing the measures of this court. Order by thy prudence and valour, that the preparations of these infidels against the formidable monarchy of the true believers may vanish into smoke : And the Great Sovereign of the lower and upper world grant thee perfect health, which is fought in vain by his Highness's slave, and thy servant Mahmut.

Paris, 12th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1639.

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XIII.—*To Isouf, his Kinsman.*

NOTWITHSTANDING my weakness, I force myself to write thee this letter, to thee with whom I am engaged by interest as well as by blood. My distemper lies so heavy upon me, that there remains only the time to speak two words of devotion to thee. Isouf, thou oughtest towards the end of the moon in May to go to Mecca ; carry me along with thee, though I am at this distance. I entreat thee, when thou shalt arrive with the caravan of pilgrims at the mount of Ararat, to offer there a sacrifice in my name ; immolate a sheep in commemoration of Abraham ; and if thou arrivest in health at the holy Mosque, and in full strength, offer devoutly my prayers to our great Prophet. I ask not honours of Mahomet no more than riches : I only beg that Heaven would restore me what I have lost ; it is health I desire, whereby I may serve our great emperor, and live more holy than I have done. But before thy departure, distribute a good dole to the poor ; and if thou wantest money, go and find Dgnet Oglou, borrow of him in my name seven hundred and fifty aspers, which thou shalt immediately deal out to those that have most need.

Thou knowest how greatly the works of charity are recommended to us: They multiply the benedictions of Heaven, and increase our wealth. I neither do nor can do this in the infidels country; thou knowest my inability, speedily succour me in the necessity I am of doing good, and let nothing hinder thee, no argument of good husbandry nor superstition. If thou neglect my prayer, the shame of the fault will lie at thy door; and thou alone shall bear the iniquity, if thou executest not the will of a dying man, especially having the power. I forgot what I had of greatest importance to tell thee, and which is the most holy, and aimed at to obtain with the greatest earnestness; endeavour to get for me a little piece of the cloth wherewith the temple of Mecca is every year hung, and which the pilgrims tear in pieces to have each of them a part; and send as soon as thou canst this holy relic in a little silver box to Carcoa at Vienna, who will take care I receive it. If thou beest a good mussulman, give speedy help to a disciple of the same law; and if thou beest a real kinsman, assist me, love me, and take on thee my defence when necessary, I embrace thee with all my heart and strength; and though I believe myself very near death, yet I wish thee a long and happy life.

Paris, 12th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1639.

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XIV.—*To the Invincible VISIER AZEM, at Constantinople.*

IF thou beest the same that commanded the army of the true believers before Babylon, I write to thee without congratulating thy resurrection. The people at Paris have killed thee by their discourses, because they wished thy death, and it is generally said thou wast strangled by

four mutes. But if I write to another, raised to the chief dignity of the empire, I pray the great God, who will one day judge all men, that he will long continue thee in Amurath's service, ever happy, and always attended with victory ; and give thee better fortune than all the other visiers who have governed in the vast empire of the musselsmans.

I have been sick during the space of eighteen moons, and my health is not yet fully restored : I have lived all that time in continual expectation of death, and so many odd things have happened in my sickness, that I should fall into it again shouldst thou oblige me to make the recital of them.

The charity of the Christian dervises has been very great towards me, having neglected nothing which might be anywise serviceable to my happy departure. The gravest of them have often attended me with discourses of the immortality of the soul, of hell, their purgatory, paradise, and the merits and indulgences of the church. Several physicians have come to see me, and used their utmost skill to keep me alive, and imagine I owe my life to them ; but if it be so, they have paid themselves for their care, by drawing so much blood out of me, having, I think, quite emptied my veins, to resist, said they, the several distempers which assaulted me, and to take from me the Turkish fever which I nourished ; for I assuredly brought it from Constantinople.

The greatest sin I committed during the course of so long a sickness, was the pretending to confess myself to a captain dervise, as the Christians do in the principal feasts, and when they are ready to die. I used this ceremony but once, and I do not think I have committed sacrilege, for I have told no truth ; and if I may speak freely to thee, invincible, Visier, hear what a pleasant pe-

nance was enjoined me for an imaginary crime of which I accused myself. I confessed I hindered, by an apology I had made, a Mahometan from embracing the law of Jesus; and the dervise said to me in a passion, "You are not then a catholic?" "I am (answered I); and only dissuaded this barbarian on account I had observed it seldom happened, that a Turk who changed his law came to a good end; and that those who ceased to be mussulmans, seldom prove any other but bad Christians." "Your reasoning is also as false (replied sharply the monk) as the design you have had is bad; for you never ought to hinder any thing which is good, for the fear you may have that in the end it may cease to be so; and I enjoin you for penance, to scrape out with such exactness all the characters of your apology, that there remain no mark of it, so that the paper become as clean and fair as if there had been nothing written on it, that so black and detestable a discourse be entirely defaced, by the pains you shall take to hinder the remaining of any trace or mark: After which, you shall pray to God as long as you live, that he would destroy the temple at Mecca, so famous by the impieties committed there, and enlighten the eyes of the blind Mahometans." But I am constrained to stop here, being so feeble and indisposed, that I have not the strength to write that I am now recovering.

The Mars which has made Germany tremble, I mean the Duke of Weymar, is, in fine, dead, at thirty-six years of age, and buried in the same field wherein he gathered his last laurels, that is to say, at Brisac. I shall distinctly inform the Kaimacham of whatever has happened during my sickness, that I may not give thee the trouble to read the relation of several adventures which have been already published in the world, whilst thou art employed in the great affairs of the empire. As soon as I am able

I shall, if possible, do with greater diligence the offices of my place, and henceforward punctually advertise thee of the cabals, intrigues, and designs of the Nazarenes, that thou mayest not be unprovided against all the attempts of the infidels.

I entreat the Being of beings to accompany thy life with all the happiness thou canst desire on earth, and that thou mayest never undertake any thing for the good of the empire and its religion without success.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1640.

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XV.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THOU wert but little mistaken when thou thoughtest I was dead. I have been so near the grave, that I may have received four of thy letters without being able to read them; so far was I from the power of answering them. I have been sick a whole year and six months, out of the commerce of the living, and without receiving any consolation from any one, abandoned to physic, and become the prey of the physicians, and in short, out of hope of ever recovering; but the day wherein I am to be judged is not yet come: I am, in fine, still alive, and shall soon, I hope, be well again, if thou, to overwhelm me, chargest not my long malady as a crime upon me, and suspectest me not guilty of infidelity.

I have informed myself, with n these few days of several events which have happened during the course of several moons, which I shall relate to thee if I can in this letter, to make amends for the time I have lost, but in so few words as will occasion thee to think I am still sick; for which thou must not blame me, seeing thou lovest brevity.



France, during the time I have not writ to thee, has given me marks of its power and policy. Four places have been besieged in the year 1639, whose success have not been equal. The French have met with disadvantage before Thionville, by the valour and conduct of Piccolomini, one of the emperor's generals, who was born in Italy, and brought up from a child in the trade of arms. It is said he has attacked and vanquished his master's enemies with such speed, that one may compare his action with that of Claudius Nero, when he defeated Afrubal, who had entered Italy; he has broken the enemy's army, routed the horse, took the cannon, killed the French general, and immediately raised the siege; but in revenge, the same French who were beaten before Thionville, have made themselves masters of Heden, Saiens, and Salsé, which last was taken by the young Prince of Conde, who gives the marks of an extraordinary valour; but the Spaniards have retaken these places, which have cost them dear. It is said that the governor left by the Prince of Conde there, being pressed by the Spaniards to surrender the place, threw out to them a hot white loaf, saying, "That those who eat of this bread would not surrender themselves before the enemies come to the time wherein they might eat ice."

Yet the place was surrendered before the spring time was come to change the face of the earth; so far were they from holding out till it was covered with ice.

This king immediately appeased the insurrections which were made in Normandy. But what wilt thou say of Casimir, the King of Poland's brother, who being returned a second time into France alone and disguised, was discovered and carried prisoner to the castle in the wood of Vinciennes, near Paris, where he is carefully guarded?

The war has been very cruel in Italy between the three parties, who are extremely animated against one another. Prince Thomas, of the House of Savoy, drove out by surprise the French from Turin; but thou wilt soon understand that our capital enemies, the Spaniards, have been beaten and entirely defeated under Casal, by the Count Harcourt, of the House of Lorrain.

The Spaniards and Dutch have made a great noise in the ocean with their fleets; the former came with four-score vessels of war, to land fifteen thousand men in Flanders; but having been met by Van Tromp, a commander of great courage and experience, there was a bloody battle fought, which lasted long, but at length ended in the defeat of the Spaniards.

The Dutch have taken thirteen ships, and above twenty of them have been driven by bad weather on the coasts of England, where they are lost, and eight others have had the good fortune to get into Dunkirk.

The victory of the Dutch is complete, having lost but one ship in the whole engagement, against so puissant an enemy, and whose subjects they were formerly.

Bear with me, illustrious and happy Kaimacham, wanting strength to continue on writing, though it were the victories of Amurath which I were to relate.

I shall make known to thee, on the first opportunity, whatever shall come to my knowledge. In the meantime, the Creator of all things direct thee in all thy ways, and prosper all thy undertakings.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1640.

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#### XVI.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

I AM in a manner raised from the dead by reading thy letter; there is not a line or syllable, but shows the marks

of a true heart, and a tender and real sympathy with my condition : I pray Heaven, we may do nothing, either of us, to lessen this affection.

Thou informest me in thy letter of the departure of Isouf for Mecca : I give thee a thousand thanks for the money thou hast given him, for the offering of a sacrifice in my name on the sacred mountain, and to distribute here below the alms which I enjoined him. I admire thy botinty, and the charitable care thou hast had of the salvation of thy friend Mahmut, in sending one of our devotees to Medina, to go the pilgrimage and say prayers for me. In a word, I see thy kindness makes thee foresee and provide against all my wants. There is no place or time where I receive not the marks of thy favour.

Seeing I am so dear to thee, and loving thee so greatly as I do, let not distance of place, poverty, disgrace, imprisonment, or any other misfortune, extinguish, or so much as damp our mutual affection.

I have, in a manner, stole the time I write to thee ; for I have nothing which is truly mine, and I make thee a present of a thing which I owed the Kaimacham, for whom I ought to employ more time in writing. But let us lay aside all these troublesome affairs, and entertain one another with an entire confidence and familiarity. Thou wantest not wit, employ it in the study of history, after sufficient instruction in the matters which concern religion. If thou wilt be a prince among other men, separate thyself from the crowd, by thy application to good authors ; read much, yet read little ; read ever good books, there being few of them, and thus thou wilt read much. If thou canst attain to the knowledge of whatsoever is known of men, thou wilt be a kind of god amongst them ; whereas thou wilt be of the number of beasts if thou failest of acquiring the notices thou

oughtest to have. I wish thou wouldst mind more for thy friend's sake what passes in the seraglio, in the divan, and in the prince's most secret councils, to know what is said there against me, and for me: Good and seasonable advice does oftentimes hinder much mischief, and does a great deal of good. Friendship makes those things which are otherwise hard, very easy: "He that is not ready," says an ho y man amongst the Christians, "to suffer all things, and to lose all, and his very will too, for the sake of him that he loves, deserves not the name of a friend."

Let us ever forget the words, mine and thine: Thy good fortune is mine, even as thy disgraces are: if we thus establish our friendship, why may we not, though modern Turks, compare ourselves to those ancient Greeks, who have given such glorious marks to the world of their friendship? Why may we not be the imitators of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, who contracted so strict an union, that nothing could change it? Although we were not born the same day, in the same climate, and in the same town, as Polystratus and Hypoclidès, who were born in the same house, at the same hour, and lived always together, and fell sick at the same time, and loved equally; yet let us surpass them in affection. Love we one another more than Theseus and Pirrithous; more than Damon and Pithias; the former of which contracted in arms, and the other in studies, that strict amity that has rendered them so recommendable to posterity. If thou knowest any secret whereby to restore my appetite, which I have lost, send it me. I am here spectator of a million of mouths, who eat four times a-day, and consume fifteen thousand oxen every week, and fifteen thousand other pieces of animals, besides mutton, veal, hogs, not to reckon all sorts of fowls, and fruits produced by the earth, and the fishes from the seas and rivers.



I am forced to die with hunger with my meat in my hands ; and in a town where there is an abundance of all sorts of things, I want all things. Bread, which is so pleasant to the eye, and so savoury to the taste of all other people, is nauseated by me. Wine only, because it is forbidden by our law, rejoices the sight of me, and stirs up a desire of drinking. Let me hear oft from thee; let thy letters be instructive, and be levelled against my melancholy temper. The God of Mahomet keep thee ever in health, and make thee love me, as thou dost, continually.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1640.

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XVII.—*To ADONAI the Jew, at Genoa.*

THOU art as lazy in writing, as inconsiderable in thy judgment of things. Thou hast written to the Grand Visier, that this republic is disposed to join its forces to that of Venice, for its assistance in the war against the Porte ; but what ground hast thou for this advice ? And if the Grand Visier should oblige thee to give a reason for this, how canst thou satisfy his curiosity, and hinder him from accusing thee of great lightness ?

I now received a copy of the letter thou didst write to Constantinople, for which I thank thee. It would have been better I had received the original ; for I would not have sent it. There is no likelihood that a republic, so desirous of establishing a peace in her dominions, will disturb her own quiet for the service of a state with which she is always at war.

Had the Genoeses any cause of complaint against Amurath, they would want neither soldiers, nor arms, nor vessels, nor money, to raise enemies against him. But



at present, whilst their affairs are in a full calm, both abroad and at home, they make (with greater prudence than the Venetians) war in the Spanish Indies with their registers, and arithmetic ; and they have always the advantage in this kind of combat, wherein there is no example they ever lost. Let this nation alone in peace : Write rather to the Porte, that the Genoefes, condemned by nature to dwell in the rocks and desert mountains, have found the means of making these the most delicious abodes in Europe.

Tell the Grand Visier, that so many extravagant philosophers, who continually search for what they will never find, have at length showed, that there is no other place where are more perfect chemists to be found, having converted into gold almost all the stones of their country, changed the horror of their deserts into most pleasant gardens ; and the cottages of the ancient Ligurians are transformed into palaces, enriched with marble and porphyry, with so great magnificence and propriety, that no houses are comparable to theirs. To which thou mayest add, that the inheritance of the poorest Genoese does at this time much surpass those of their predecessors. Show him they have begun to give considerable succours to great and puissant monarchs, by immense sums ; and that, in fine, in the registers of particular traders, one may see the names of the greatest monarchs on earth, to whom they are become creditors.

Be more careful of what thou writest for the future ; and when thou givest advice, set down what thou knowest without exaggeratings, and be reserved in what is doubtful : Never write falsehoods in thy dispatches. Be also never the author of vulgar rumours, and stories made by people at leisure, who abound with extravagancies.

God help thy understanding, and heal thy distempers, if thou hast any.

Paris, 10th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1640.

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XVIII.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE Christians are become magicians; or, to speak better, the Spaniards who make war in Piedmont, have filled the world with astonishment by an extraordinary and new enchantment. I wrote to thee, there were two great armies before Turin, one to take it, and the other to succour it; but I have not yet made known to thee, that the cannon of the Spaniards are become couriers, who carry their dispatches in the air into the besieged cities, and moreover ammunition, powder, saltpetre, and money; a marvellous invention, which fills me with admiration in writing it. There is a man in the camp of General Leganez, who makes brass bullets so artificially, that having shot them into the ditch of the place, they have for a long time succoured the besieged. It is said, that being made in a vice, and hollowed within, they have served for two uses, to convey into Turin what was wanting, and to bring back into the Spaniards camp the things they most needed. But this industry proved in the end useless; for after several conflicts, Turin has fallen again into the hands of King Lewis, who has therein re-established the Dutches of Savoy, to the great satisfaction of her people, who have thereupon showed the signs of the greatest joy. This re-establishment is owing to the valour and conduct of Count Harcourt, who has sustained and repelled the assaults of two armies stronger in number than his own. This captain has made his name as famous in Italy, as were heretofore

those of the heroes of Rome and Athens. The Marquis of Leganez undertook the siege of Casal, an important place belonging to the Duke of Mantua, situated on the famous river of Po in Italy. Count Harcourt not being able with all his army to put succours into the place, he took the party of forcing himself the besieged, entering on horseback into the lines with his sword in his hand, where he was followed by some of his gentlemen. The Spaniards being surpris'd and astonish'd, found no safety but in retreat, which they made disorderly ; and the French, under such a captain, bore away that day the greatest and most glorious victory they ever won in Italy.

If thou requirest an account of me of what has pass'd in Germany, I can tell thee, that the war has been carried on there this year with equal success and losses to both parties, to whom fortune has been sometimes favourable, and other whiles contrary.

But I am inform'd there is a design of making a great assembly at Cologne, to re-establish a peace between all the Christian princes ; and that the King of France has nam'd for his plenipotentiary there, the Cardinal Julius Mazarini, an Italian by nation, a man of great parts and experience in business.

Prince Casimir is set at liberty, at the entreaty of the King of Poland, his brother, and has been since well received by the king, who made him dine at his table, and presented him with a rich diamond. The town of Arras which the French have taken in the Spanish Netherlands is of great importance, and is a considerable loss to the Catholic king, and will give great reputation to his enemies, that have taken the place in the fight of a great army, commanded by the Cardinal Infant, governor of the Low Countries ; which conquest has mightily

raised the French courage, and increased the glory of their prince.

The queen is brought-to-bed of a second son, who was born the 21st of September, and he is named the Duke of Anjou.

The Spaniards are as unfortunate on the sea, as at land. Their fleet, which returned from the West Indies, richly laden with commodities of all sorts, have been most of them dispersed by the French naval army, commanded by the Duke of Breze. The Spaniards truly fought with much valour, but fifteen thousand of their men were slain, and two hundred taken prisoners, together with five great vessels richly laden. One of their great galleons was burnt; and it is said the other ships were saved, having first thrown the best part of their lading overboard, which they had brought with such great care and pains from the other world.

That which has passed on the ocean, has not hindered the archbishop of Bourdeaux from showing the strength of the king his master on the Mediterranean, where he has fought an occasion of fighting the Spaniards with a lighter army, consisting for the most part of galleys. He had sent a defiance to the Duke de Farrandine, general of the Spanish galleys; who being unwilling to accept of the challenge, this prelate advanced towards the coast of Naples, where he did some mischief.

One may say, that the misfortunes of Philip, King of Spain, are as great this year as his power is. But it is said, these losses are not comparable to what he is threatened with, if Portugal and Catalonia shake off the yoke of his domination, as the common report runs.

I have heard much talk in general on these considerable affairs, without being, however, informed of any certain particulars. But henceforward, when I shall be

able to leave my chamber, to go into the churches, walks, and gardens, about the city and the court, I shall let nothing pass without a strict inquiry, and give a faithful account of whatever deserves thy notice ; and shouldest thou desire any particular thing of thy slave Mahmut, it is but mentioning it, and thou shalt not want an exact and humble answer.

It makes me tremble in telling thee, that a report runs here of the death of the invincible prop of the world, the mighty of mighties ; in fine, of the glorious Amurath. It is false news, I hope, yet however asserted with great confidence. The Arbiter of heaven and earth confound all our enemies, and give the Grand Signior, and thyself, a life which knows no end, and attended with a happiness which cannot be increased.

Paris, 7th of the last Moon, of the Year 1640.

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#### XIX.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

THE lovely Greek, after whom thou inquirest so earnestly, is long since retired into France, and has been married eighty moons to a great French merchant, with whom I am not acquainted, but am informed is very rich, and fortunate in his dealings ; but infinitely more fortunate in being the husband of Daria Lena Maani, by whom he has several fine children.

This charming Greek does now profess the Roman religion, which is the only fault I find in her. I never knew woman whose whole carriage is so graceful, who does all things with such a careless exactness, and whose virtue is less morose. Mere chance brought me acquainted with her ; whom I no sooner saw, but I was struck with admiration. She came to Paris the last year to so-



licit a lawsuit against a stranger about an estate. It was at court, and in the presence of the king himself, that I first saw Daria: She spake to him so sweetly, that she soon obtained what she desired; and at the same instant, I felt such inexpressible passions and longings after her acquaintance.—Suffer me, my dear Dgnet, to tell thee, that never any creature made such deep impressions in the heart of a man, as this charming Greek did in mine.

I drew near to her as soon as I could. I spake to her in her own language, telling her I was an Arabian; and she answered me with as great modesty as benignity. I went the day following to give her a visit in her own lodgings; where this adorable person received me with the greatest civility, not forbidding me a return; being pleased, perhaps, to meet with one that could speak her own language, which is very rare in these parts.

Since then I could not for my life forget her: I have served her with the greatest diligence, and so doated on her, that I forgot myself and thee, and, if I may dare to say so, the Grand Signior too. Pardon this infidelity on the account of a passion which knows no moderation, being not able to withstand the force of so invincible an enemy.

Daria is young, of a generous temper, and in whose whole deportment there is no grace wanting. Her virtue is far above Lucretia's; for this Roman lady killed herself, having first endured the violences of a tyrant; whereas she would die before she would come to such a trial. If you have seen her at Constantinople you must have known her perfections. I, for my part, who only knew her at Paris, have remarked four beauties in her person, which I believe are not to be found in any of those ladies kept in the seraglio. Her eyes, her mouth, her teeth, and her hands, seem to have been made only to furnish the

god of love with darts. She is sure to strike where she will with her fine black eyes full of fire ; and she has also the secret of healing the wound she makes, when she pleases. As soon as ever she opens her mouth, the three graces are seen to sit sporting in her countenance ; and her body, moreover, is so proportioned in all its parts, that had she lived in the time of Phidias, he had certainly taken her for the model of his Venus, which was the admiration of all the world.

I have plied this fair Greek with visits, loved her even to idolatry ; my respect has been ever equal to her virtue ; and the greatest favour I obtained from her was to suffer me thus to speak to her : “ I love you, Daria ; Daria, I adore you ;” but she would never suffer the least expression which might make her understand any thing else.

This incomparable beauty often said to me, “ Mahmut, I have a great respect for you, because you are discreet and virtuous, and should also love thee, wert thou not a man. Live on still as thou hast done, and thou wilt thereby oblige me to respect thee yet more ; but think not to obtain from Daria any more than an innocent affection ; I owe all to my husband, and I will never be unfaithful to him.” If I ever attempted to snatch any small favour, it was always in vain, having ever repelled me in such a manner as made me lose all hope, and, at the same time, feel a new increase of passion. Consider, dear Oglou, what passed then in my heart, and what a war I was to sustain.

In my great inquietudes, and sharpest and cruellest pains, philosophy supplied me with no other remedies but patience : She set before me the examples of the esteem which the ancients had for pudicity ; but she hindered me not from also remembering, that we find in hi-

story almost all the philosophers more transported with venereal pleasures, than retained by any precept of wisdom. Diogenes and Aristotle, became they not fools hereby? And Seneca, whose morals are the rules of the wisest, was he not driven out of Rome for his adulteries? I tell thee plainly, the precepts of philosophy have influenced me not a whit; I derided them, and was resolved to love on, and that more excessively than all the philosophers together. Daria's soft severity has laid on me stronger laws than all the dogmas of the Stoicks; so that nothing can make me change my resolution of loving her eternally. If it be true that love is a weakness, only men, who are noble creatures, are thereunto subject; it being certain that mean souls cannot love, because they have no heart. "Nature's original is far higher than reason;" one is the work of God, whereas the other comes from man. Be not then astonished, if Reason does so oft yield to Nature.

Daria had a mind to learn Italian, which she thought a better language than others. I taught her a great deal of it in a little time; but business quickly deprived an unhappy master of the most perfect of scholars. She said once to me, "Mahmut, let us have a perpetual amity for one another, but let us love and esteem Virtue far before Friendship. Teach me History and Geography, to the end, that knowing kingdoms, towns and provinces, and those that govern them, I may know into how many parts this earth, which appears so admirable, is divided; I may now learn the forces, methods of government, manners, religions of nations, the difference of seas and of mountains, of lakes and rivers, of inhabited places, islands and deserts, that I may not confound the barbarous with the civilized nations, and republics with monarchies."

My worthy friend, so noble an inclination, joined with a singular grace, and attended with so many rare qualities, as well spiritual as corporal, have reduced the poor Mahmut to a slavery more rigorous than that which he suffered with thee in Sicily. How many nights have I passed in horrible restlessness? And how many times have I vainly believed I was with Daria, whom I sought in my chamber; when sleep succeeding long watching, represented her to me in a dream more complaisant than ordinary? In a word, Daria so filled my thoughts, that I forgot my books, and avoiding also the company of my friends, she alone was my daily study, and I renounced all other diversions: the finest ladies were nauseous to me; the finest gardens seemed horrible forests, which serve for a retreat to savage beasts. In fine, my passion (friend Oglou) comes to that excess, that I can find no remedy. My tears were of none effect to soften Daria, and I have cast myself a thousand times in vain at her feet; all my cares and respects have served only to give me proofs of her virtue. Receive as thou oughtest the confidence I put in thee; and if thou hast not an heart that can love so ardently, at least have some complaisancy towards a man whose passion has no bounds, and reproach me not with having had too much weakness for having been vanquished by a woman. It is women that have always won the greatest victories; it is their trade to conquer, and even those too who subdue all things. It is impossible for me to comprehend, how I could love so strongly without dying; neither can I imagine how I shall live, if I be long deprived of the sight of her I love. Daria has left Paris, and is distant thence above three hundred miles; consider then the condition I am in: I reckon myself in a solitary place, although there be above a million of inhabitants in the town where I dwell. I

stir not out of my chamber; and as to my books, they will yield me no comfort. My only care is to nourish my distemper; whereby I study to make myself more miserable, because it is not in my power so much as to seek the way to the only happiness I wish for. Mahmut may be said to be the son of sorrow; my beard is nasty and overgrown; I am out of love with myself, comfortless, avoiding all society, and am become invisible to all people. I have no hope amongst so many causes of despair, but the assurance which Daria has given me, that I possess a place in her heart; and I believe it, because she says so. Heaven has given her a frank and generous soul, and promises her great things in the course of her life. I have secretly drawn her horoscope; as far as I could find, all the planets are favourable to her; she is to live a great while; Fortune will second her intentions; she will enjoy an uninterrupted health: and this lovely person will ever gain the advantage on all that shall oppose her. Happy is he that shall be of the number of her friends, but more happy is he that shall be beloved of her, for he may assure himself of being beloved of the handsomest and most deserving lady in the world.

Read my follies with some indulgence, and be not angry with me when thou knowest I was ready to renounce my religion for that of Daria; she began to convince me, and I began to believe, that the religion of the most perfect and most virtuous of women was the best. If thou hast interest enough in the Grand Visier, or the Kaimacham, obtain for me the permission of leaving Paris for six moons only, but by no means let them know the occasion. I love much, absent from Daria; but it seems to me I do not yet love enough: I would have more violent transports during her absence than those I suffer whilst I see her; to the end, I may say, that at all



times, and in all places, never any body loved so much. I have discovered to thee my whole heart ; excuse my passion, if thou wilt not excuse thy friend so horribly tormented with it ; and remember what the beautiful Roxalana said to the great Solymán, “ That the pleasure of commanding, and making one’s self obeyed, is to be reckoned but in the second rank of pleasures ; whereas that of loving, and being beloved, is the first.”

Henry IV. was one of the greatest kings of France, than whom no man ever more greatly loved. When he reproached the Duke de Biron with the love he had for a lady, mark what this cavalier told him : “ Great King, how is it possible thou shouldst not be indulgent to lovers, who hast so often said when thou wast in love, thou forgottest thyself, thy kingdom, and thy subjects ?” And this, dear Oglou, is what has happened to me at Paris, with this admirable person, whom thou couldst not find at Constantinople. But alas ! I should be an unhappy friend, if with such a love as mine I should prove thy rival. I will not imagine it ; yet I must tell thee, that rather than yield thee Daria, I will sacrifice to thee all the time I have to live. I have given my picture to this charming Greek, who has received it very courteously, yet rather as the work of an excellent painter than the picture of a lover.

But being full of goodness, and perfectly discreet, she said thus to me when I gave it her : “ Mahmut, thank Heaven—thou art not handsome ; such sort of men have not ordinarily all the successes they pretend to in their amours. Wise ladies think these kind of people doat too much on themselves ; and those that are disdainful, find them not submissive enough and respectful ; and such as fear evil tongues, dare not look on them ; and also those gentlemen imagine ladies favours are granted them be-

cause they cannot withstand them, and they expect oftentimes to be entreated to receive them : whereas those to whom Nature has not been so liberal of her favours, do more than barely love ; they adore their mistresses, they are always humble, and know how to gain the coyest beauty by their respectfulness. As to thy part, who art none of the fairest, thou wilt be happy if thou changeest not thy manner of living with me."

It is impossible for me to say whether Daria has any considerable imperfection, being too greatly prepossessed by my passion, to discover defects in a person whom I regard as an angel. Time and her promises will one day show me, whether she has the vices usual to those of her nation, which are commonly an infidelity covered over with the most specious pretences, and a continued dissimulation.

However, send me a cask of the white balm of Mecca, and of the best sort for scent thou canst get ; and at the same time send me also some of that precious eastern-wood, whose scent is admirable to perfume the body. I have promised the fair Daria this present ; let me soon have it, to the end I may accustom Daria to the neatness and delicacies of the Mahometans. Preserve also thy health ; and, if thou enviest me, love as much as I do ; but love with continency, if thou wilt love long, and be long beloved.

The Great God preserve thee from loving, however, so excessively as thy friend Mahmut does ; the dolours being therein always certain, and the fruition uncertain.

Paris, 10th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1641.

XX.—*To the Invincible VISIER AZEM.*

THE Chiaus arrived here this same moon in which I write to thee, and is in perfect health, with all his attendants.

I do not tell thee in what manner he was received by the people at Paris, it being of small importance, seeing they have no other part in the government of the kingdom than that of obeying.

The populace curiously observed his habit, his beard, and his gait, all as extraordinary. It is certain (Invincible Leader of his Armies, in whom God has placed his authority of governing the earth), our envoys are not esteemed wherever they come, unless amongst the most rational and honest part of mankind, which are always the least number.

Not only the common sort run to see our ambassadors, for the vestments they wear, to which their eyes are not accustomed, but even considerable persons have the same curiosity. Some silently approve; others lift up their hands to note their astonishment; and others, by an insolent murmur, discover their contempt, not understanding the justice due to strangers, whose manners and fashions ought never to be blamed; it being impossible but whole nations must have good reasons for their customs and practices since so many ages.

But he was not thus received at Court, where the king and his ministers do all things with great prudence; being respected as a man that brought good news, and sent by the greatest and most puissant emperor in the world. As to the subject of his coming, every body speaks diversly. The ministers of foreign princes are fearful lest the new sultan should attempt the entire ruin of Christendom, and

prove more terrible than Amurath. In the mean time, this heathenish people show incredible joy at the burning of the Imperial city of Constantinople. But the king has no part in the sentiments of his subjects.

Many say that the King of Red Heads will renew the war with the empire, and is persuaded to this by the Great Mogul; and there are some who affirm he has already laid siege to Babylon. But those who speak with more sense, and less hatred, affirm, that all the Porte's enemies are like reeds exposed to the wind, which will be easily overthrown, if the French take not part with them; and it is the folly of this nation (who believes herself superior to all others, and the arbiter of the world) to think too well of herself, because she is respected as a friend to the faithful mussulmans.

The Jews (Invincible Visier, Principal Minister of the Empire, favoured of God), are the cursedest race of all nations; the Christians accused them of having set Constantinople on fire; and greatly praised the Greeks for quenching it, to which, say they, they have no less contributed by their hands than by the fervency of their prayers; and that Heaven had preserved it from a total ruin, because of the sacred relics of so many Christians, whose bodies lie buried in our mosques.

The news which comes from foreign countries, does every day denote the disorder there is in all parts, there being nothing heard from the side of Spain but secret conspiracies and public revolts.

The people of Catalonia are in a continual commotion, and so irritated, that they give no farther quarter to the Spaniards; and from Portugal there comes more surprising news.

London is as full of disquiet, new parties every day forming themselves against their sovereign Charles, master

of those three so famous islands; whence it appears, that the God of the Nazarenes is angry with these unbelieving people.

I shall not fail to inform thee in due time of such events as deserve thy knowledge; for if things do not soon change their posture, these countries, forsaken of Heaven (seeing the true law, established by our prophet, is not received here), will soon change their masters, their manners, and religion.

I adore, with the profoundest humility, and with my head lying at thy invincible feet, the authority which the sultan has entrusted thee with, and which thou deservest, as well for thy faithfulness as the greatness of thy actions.

Paris, 20th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1641.

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XXI.—*To CARA HALY, the Physician, at Constantinople.*

SINCE I received thy letter, and the marks of thy remembrance, I imagine myself much better. I make two meals a-day. I walk about in the morning, my appetite increases; I have no more of those nauseous belches; I can read longer; and I sleep a-nights more soundly: Yet I cannot say I am in perfect health; so long an illness has deprived me of that which I do not find return. There is wanting to my intellectual faculties a certain kind of vivacity and readiness in their operations, which is extremely abated; but I know not whether this be an effect of the pain I suffered, or whether it comes not from nature weakened; as fast as our life advances to throw itself, as it were, into the arms of death, which is what is most certain for me. I would willingly entertain thee on the condition wherein I find myself, could I



overcome the weakness of my disposition, and the coldness of the season, which pierces me, maugre all my care to prevent it in this icy climate. The ink I write with freezes on my pen, and a body may say the fire freezes too, wanting, as it does, its usual activity, the cold being so sharp that it extinguishes the natural heat. The city where I dwell appears on a sudden transformed into crystal: the northern wind has in one night frozen the river; and all the fountains which were wont to quench the thirst of a million of people, are dried up. All trade seems to have ceased; the rich are retired to their fires, and the poor are creeping about the streets, where, notwithstanding the exercises they use to oppose the cold, they seem already starved. The bread is become like marble or an hard stone; all things are frozen, and ancient people affirm never the like has happened in their days, or in the times of their fathers. There has been found, some few miles from Paris, in the great road, two men clad in very coarse stuff, without shifts, their legs naked, heads shaved, and cords about their middle, dead with cold: they were found embracing one another, thinking thereby to communicate mutual heat, to keep off, or at least retard, their deaths. These people are dervises of the Latin church, which are called capuchins, whose life is a continual penance. They rise in the night to their devotions, and spend their time in contemplation. They live upon alms which they receive of the Christians, which consist of bread, and roots and herbs; and if the charity of these Nazarenes extends to the giving any thing more, they use it with sobriety. They sleep on straw, and are obliged to wear the habit night and day, which is dreadful to look on, and in which they are buried when they die. When their occasions require them to travel, they are not permitted to go on horse-

back, in a coach or chair, but only in vessels when they go by sea, or on rivers, so that they have only that granted them which Cato was so afraid of, and every body else but fools, which is, to travel by water.

In fine, their life is accounted a continual hell; and they will be finely choused if they find not a heaven when stripped of their mortality.

These religious are under the direction of one general; observe a long silence, which is a great virtue among them, and with this are so exactly obedient to their head, that they have no will left.

They have very obscure prisons under ground, whereinto they thrust those who scandalize their order by their crimes; for, notwithstanding the holiness of their rule, and the vigilance of their superiors, to make it observed, there is never wanting some who wander from the right way, and often make use of the esteem which men have of their piety, to commit such enormities as would be soundly punished by the men of the world. These kind of dervises cannot handle money without being guilty of a mortal sin. Notwithstanding this profession of poverty, I have seen these dervises dressed up with greater magnificence than our musti, in the time when they celebrate their masses, ascending up to the great altar, covered with the finest linen, and thereon vests embroidered with gold, the most delicately wrought as can be imagined, and oft enriched with pearls and precious stones. In their sacrifice they eat the consecrated bread, which they call the Messias his body, which they are wont to place on a plate of fine gold; and they also put into cups of the same metal, a liquor which they say is changed into the blood of their God, as the bread into the body, as soon as they have pronounced certain words which they secretly mutter.

The sacrifice is offered every day, and not only the people are present at it, but the greatest of the kingdom, with their monarch on his knees, and in a supplicating posture. There stand about the altar several stately candlesticks, wherein burn white wax-candles, which render the sacrifice still more solemn.

I relate to thee what I have so often seen ; for I choose to be frequently in these infidels churches, and at their solemn festivals, the better to conceal who I am.

Yet happy is he that lives satisfied with himself, assured he serves God in the manner he will be served. Thou hast this good fortune, and that of being in thine house at thine ease. When thou goest out thou wearest a long vest down to thy heels, lined with soft and warm furs, whilst I am obliged to cover myself barely with a black short cloak, which scarcely reaches below my knees, and is too thin to resist the piercing northern blasts, and is, in truth, a very ridiculous habit ; yet which I am obliged to wear for the service of him whose slave I am, which cannot cover my bandy legs and ill-shaped body. I expect, with great impatience, the season which overspreads the gardens with flowers, the fields with grass, and crowns the trees with blossoms, and brings back the pretty birds, who publish the joyful news of the spring's approach ; that being the time wherein I may expect my health.

As to what remains, thou wilt oblige me in making trial of my friendship, that thou mayest know there is not in all the empire of the true believers, a more faithful friend, and one that loves thee more cordially. Adieu.

Paris, 10th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1641.

XXII.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE Court of France is an assembly of politicians, who discover or hide themselves according to their interests, and are more wont to hold their peace than to talk. They explain themselves in more than one manner on the things which they cannot conceal ; and I draw from them what is necessary for my instruction and thy information. There have happened such sudden and surprising motions in Spain as cause considerable advantages to be hoped for by France, which seems to have had a great hand in them, on which thou mayest make what reflections thou thinkest convenient.

The mountains which divide France from Spain are called the Pyrenees. Catalonia is a province watered on one hand by the Mediterranean Sea, and bounded by Navarre ; it lies situated at the foot of these mountains. The people have taken up arms and vigorously opposed the Catholic King's ministers ; and the Portugueses have done the same thing, but with different success. This kingdom is comprised within the states of Spain, and the richest under her dominion. Her situation is advantageous, lying between Galicia and Castile, and watered with the ocean, which brings her immense riches.

The principal town of Catalonia is Barcelona ; and Lisbon is the chief town of Portugal. The first has taken for the pretence of its insurrection, the insolencies committed by the Protestant troops, which served the Catholic King, and were quartered in this province ; and the other having long concealed its design, has at length shaken off the Spanish yoke, and set up a king of their own royal race.

It is said that Count Olivarez, the King of Spain's

chief minister and favourite, designing to mortify the Catalonians, horribly charged that country with soldiers, and sent thither the most licentious troops to quarter, imagining to chastise the pride of this people in this manner, without any form or process.

This minister's design has had so far its end, the province being full of divisions and slaughters, there wanting nothing to complete their miseries. The soldiers exercise unheard-of cruelties; they shed, indifferently, the blood of infants, old men and women; overthrowing altars, and ruining temples. The most courageous peasants gather together to repel force with force, and revenge themselves most cruelly on as many of the Castilians as they can light of, without sparing the King's ministers; killing all they meet, seeking those who are hid, to punish them with the greatest rigour; running after those who seek their safety by flight; not pardoning the very priests, if never so little suspected.

The Count of St. Colomme, commanded not long since in Catalonia, with the title of Viceroy; which poor man is now before God, where he receives the recompences or chastisements he has deserved, being the first victim sacrificed to the peasants' fury. His blood was the prologue of a dismal tragedy, which will not end without more dismal events to the Spanish monarchy, and the Catalonians themselves.

The viceroy withdrew himself into the arsenal of Barcelona at the first insurrection of the peasants, where he was besieged by a great multitude of these seditious people; and, seeing he could not remain there in safety, he went out to go on board the galleys; but the grossness of his body hindering him from hastening as fast as those who accompanied him in his flight, he remained alone; and, being tired, fell into a swoon, and lay dead for some



time on the sand between the rocks which lie upon the sea. His servant, the only one that remained with him, brought him again to himself by casting the sea-water on his face ; but he opened his eyes only to see his own departure more nearly. He was set upon in this condition, wherein he could not stir himself, by a crew of blood-hounds, who first shot at him, and then hacked him in pieces, having first stabbed him in a thousand places. His servant defended him as well as he could, in covering him with his body, but his zeal was fruitless ; and all the wounds he received saved not one from his master. He was an African, and had been his slave. The courage and fidelity of a man of so mean birth, deserves at least that it should be said of him, that he died in imitating the virtue of those ancient Romans, which are at this day praised and admired by all the world.

The viceroy's death stopped not the peasants ; they proceeded to excesses scarcely imaginable ; and their barbarity made them commit such horrible, together with such ridiculous actions, as can hardly be expressed.

These wretches went to the palace of the Marquis de Ville Franche, general of the galleys, where, having cut the throats of as many as they met with, they burnt and battered all the household stuff, and carried in procession on the top of a pike a little brass figure which they thought a black angel ; which figure was only that of a man, wherein a clock was included, whose ingenious springs made him move his eyes ; which sight so surprised these peasants, who had never seen or heard of such a machine, that they remained in such a stupidity, as retarded for some time the effects of their fury. But there was one more bold than the rest, who, approaching to the piece, cried out, “ It was the familiar spirit of the Marquis de Ville Franche, and ought to be seized on and

thrown into prison to take away its power ;” which he had no sooner said, but he laid hands on it, and tied and bound it fast on the top of a spear, and, with great shouts, walked it about the town. The ignorant people, capable of any ridiculous impressions, as well as the women, who are not hard to be deluded, followed them, convinced that the marquis’s devil was carried triumphantly along the streets. Having ran through all the town of Barcelona, this rabble gave the clock into the hands of the bishop and inquisitors to exercise it, and drive out the devil, whom they thought capable of destroying their whole province.

Affairs are carried on more seriously in Portugal, and at a more moderate rate ; the inhabitants of Lisbon, as well as the nobility, have treated the Castilians with more humanity : They immediately elected a king, who reigns peaceably as heir of the Crown, and thereby ascertained of being maintained by the affection and fidelity of the people. There is already news of his coronation, the ceremony of which was performed with great pomp and magnificence. The people, as a mark of their affection, have presented a million of gold to their new lord ; the clergy, sixty thousand crowns, and the nobility four hundred ; and the new king has taken on him the name of John IV. King of Portugal, instead of that of Don John Duke de Braganza.

Never any plot better succeeded. The Portugueses have driven out from them a puissant and politic nation without bloodshed, saving that of a villain ; but of that thou shalt hear more the next opportunity ; for I shall carefully inform myself of the particulars of so extraordinary an event, to give an exact account to the visier. It is said King Philip is the most unfortunate prince that ever ascended the throne, committing his affairs to the

management of another : so that it may be said the duke, who reigns as sovereign in Madrid, has chosen Philip IV. for his favourite. The minister commands, and the king obeys ; the master's weakness authorises the servant's power ; the confusion of that nation being so great that those made by Heaven to receive orders, are the only persons who give them.

I kiss the hem of thy garment, with all the submission possible of a poor and humble slave.

Paris, 10th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1641.

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### XXIII.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

TO what purpose dost thou bewail the ruins which the fire has caused in Constantinople, if there be no remedy for the losses thou hast suffered ? Not all the visiers together, nor the prince himself, whose authority knows no bounds, could resist the fury of this element. What then can we do, wretches as we are, liable to all injuries and disgraces ? Art thou the first honest man that has been ruined ? It is true, Heaven had enriched thee : Thy chambers were hung with the finest Persian tapestry ; thou hadst a great number of slaves, fine gardens and bathing-places beset with delicate fountains ; must thou despair for the loss of the greatest part of these ? Comfort thyself, seeing thou art not in a fault, nor hast contributed to thine own misfortune ?

Thou tellest me, that the burning of the chief city of the universe has deprived thee in one day of all the commodities and conveniences thou hast laboured for many years : And I answer thee, that he which gave thee these goods, expects thanks from thee, in that having enriched thee with what thou hadst not, he did not take from thee thy life at the same time.

Hast thou so soon forgotten Seneca's Demetrius? Hast thou lost any thing which thou didst not receive from the liberality of fortune? And if whatever thou hadst was given thee, wherefore dost thou afflict thyself as if thou couldst not obtain again as much? Stretch out thy hand towards heaven; pray and beseech: He that has given thee once, is not impoverished by the liberalities he has showed; but rather ask of him spiritual than these temporal gifts, which do all wither and die.

If thou livest, thou wilt see thyself in the same condition again: I cannot give thee a better consolation: I will not lament with thee, it seeming to me a fruitless thing. If thou beest desirous to forget the losses thou hast suffered, consider the great damages the same fire has caused to so many believers in the same city where thou bewailest thy misfortunes. How many people that had less than thee have lost more? And how many better people than thyself, as more submitting to the will of Heaven, have suffered miseries infinitely greater than thine?

So great a conflagration, wherein the chief city of the world saw itself near reduced to ashes, must needs have been a very dismal spectacle. When I read the relation which thou hast made me, I tremble with horror to see so many magnificent houses and stately mosques devoured by the flames, and reduced to nothing; with such riches, goods, household-stuff, and inestimable merchandises, public registers, and choice manuscripts, whose loss can never be repaired, being become the prey of this element, which devours all things. But thou and I are not the first, neither shall be the last, who bewail the ruins of our country. How many towns in Asia, how many in Greece, have been swallowed up in an instant by dreadful earthquakes! And how many ruins are to be

found in the famous cities of Syria and Macedonia ! And how many times have the isles of Cyprus and Paphos been entirely depopulated ! We see not only the most solid edifices perish, which are the works of men, but even mountains annihilated. There are whole countries which have (as it were) vanished ; the sea has covered such spaces of land as might have made whole provinces, and which were extreme populous. How many promontories do we see, which were heretofore certain guides to pilots, but are now buried in the sands, and cause oftentimes shipwrecks ! And if the works of nature be exposed to such great ruins, what may not mortal men expect to suffer ! But I spend time in relating ordinary accidents, when I might remember thee of greater ruins which the fire made in the same imperial city, after it had been built by the great Constantine, to whom she owed all her splendour, before the mighty and successful emperors of the mussulmans had therein established the seat of their empire.

Under the reign of the Emperor Leo, if I be not mistaken, the whole continent lying along the Bosphorus, between both the seas, was entirely ruined by fire. And twelve years after, under the reign of Basil, the famous library so carefully collected, and with that extreme charge and trouble, and which consisted of above two hundred thousand manuscripts, with the skin of a serpent two hundred and twenty feet long, whereon were written the entire works of Homer, was consumed. The fire which happened in the time of Justinian, might make one forget others ; the famous temple of St. Sophia, which is at this day our chief mosque, could not be preserved from the fury of the flames, being almost wholly consumed by it. I shall not mention the ruins which have happened by earthquakes under the reign of the Empror



Zeno Izoria. There was a far greater under Bazajet II. for in Pruzia, an entire city, with its houses, walls, and three thousand inhabitants, were buried in the entrails of the earth ! which must convince us there have been in all ages such events, as may instruct us to bear our misfortunes with patience, and to believe a Providence, and submit ourselves wholly to it.

Let us (my dear friend) for once rejoice in an occasion wherein all others mourn ; in that we are able to persuade ourselves “ There is nothing here below deserves our care.” I do not say we should laugh like Nero, when he saw Rome burning, which he himself had fired, and sang the passages of Homer wherein the conflagration of Troy is described : Rather do as Æneas, who having saved from the flames which devoured his country and estate, his tutelar gods, his father Anchises, his family and himself, became an hero that served for an example to posterity. He did not spend his time in bewailing the goods he had lost, but always kept an undaunted courage in the midst of the tempest which threatened to overwhelm him as soon as he was on the sea, and which forced him to wander from port to port, void of all help, persecuted by a goddess, and other gods who were of her party ; and having gallantly endured so many disgraces, he became the founder of the bravest and famousest nation of the universe. Æneas, in saving his gods and his father, who were the companions of his fortune, drew down the graces of Heaven, which put an end to his miseries, in settling him in a country where he laid the first foundations of an empire, which since has given laws to all the world.

Our sins have kindled the fire at Constantinople ; the debaucheries, impieties, hypocrisies, and continual rapines, which remain unpunished, are the causes of the destruction of the famous city of the universe.

Can we imagine, when God sends his judgments down upon us, that we can be able to resist them? Amend thy life, if thou desirest to be revenged of fortune, and be proof against all her darts. Increase in virtue, if thou wouldest be invulnerable; be as good in prosperity as in adversity. Nothing but good works can make thee happy in this world, and live when this world shall be no more.

If reason cannot stop our tears, fortune, I am sure, will never do it. We seem herein very unreasonable; for when we first see the light we weep, and when we leave it, we groan.

Live ever with me more nearly than an intimate friend, and imitate (if a man may so express himself) the fire, which (according to what appears to us) consumes all things, and converts them into its own proper substance; but which yet, according to the rules prescribed by its Creator, burns not the air, nor the other elements, but keeps them united, warms and conserves them. God has endued men with an instinct which ought to do the same thing; he has fastened them one to another with such bonds as nothing can break; I mean the interest and mutual needs which they have of one another. There being no body that can be happy and become rich of himself, there must be dependencies and commerce, without which it is impossible to have what is most necessary. There is also a more refined commerce, to wit, the marks of esteem which men give one another, succours in cases of need, whether of money or good counsel; the latter of which is all that can be expected from thy faithful Mahmut.

Paris, 10th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1641.

XXIV.—*To the BASSA of the Sea.*

THE vessels of Afric have again been worsted by the infidels, the particulars of which must needs be known to thee before they could come here, where there is much discourse of the accident at Goulette, and the battle of Caragoe, to the great disadvantage and prejudice of the Mahometan name. These heathenish people make public rejoicings for the victories obtained by another nation. It is said, that of five galleys, and three other great vessels, only one ship saved itself by flight, several being sunk to the bottom, together with the Admiral of Caragoe, the rest having been brought into Malta; and that there were six hundred mussulmans killed; in whose death our only consolation is that they died martyrs, and their blood will cry for vengeance against the infidels that have shed it.

It is hard to find the isle of Malta in the chart, and yet harder in the sea; it being a mere atom of invisible earth: But it is not so with the knights, who are the masters of it; they being a hundred, often seen and felt by us.

Malta is a seminary, wherein are brought up the bravest sparks in Christendom, picked out from amongst the most illustrious families. These persons know not what fear is; they have imposed upon themselves the necessity of vanquishing or dying; and therefore they get the mastery of whatever they attempt; and with those few vessels they have, they make the Ottoman fleets tremble. They wear a golden cross on their stomachs, which is always dipped in the blood of the faithful mussulmans.—Eclipse this impious order, by opposing the sacred silver of the Ottoman moon against the force of so small a number of knights. My zeal obliges me to say such things as may be troublesome to thee; and which per-

haps thou knowest as well as I; which is, that I am persuaded thou wilt be the conqueror of these pirates, provided thou once resolvest to draw out in good earnest thy scimitar, “and cast its sheath away.”

The king here is very well: He said publicly, when he heard of the victory of the Malteses, that if he were not a king, he should choose to be one of the knights of that place. Thou wilt gain greater honour, and more trophies will be raised to thee than were to Ariademus and Cigala, if thou undertakest effectually the destruction of this people. Thou hast my prayers, that our holy Prophet would strengthen thy arm; and that God would give thee still favour in the fight of our most puissant emperor, chosen to be the chief commander of the world.

Paris, 15th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1641.

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XXV.—*To the Invincible VISIER AZEM.*

AN illustrious woman of the House of Savoy governed not long since in Portugal, in the name of Philip IV. King of Spain. Her name is Margarita, and commonly resides at Lisbon; but this princess, with the title of Vice-Queen, had not the credit or authority necessary to sustain the dignity, though she had otherwise all the prudence and courage requisite thereunto.

Michael Vasconcelli, her chief secretary, having usurped all the authority, carried all things with a high hand; to which he added a most griping covetousness, which was no less disadvantageous to his mistress's reputation. And the Marquis de la Puebla, a Castilian minister, an accomplice of Vasconcelli, had established himself in this court, as a rigid censurer of all the Vice-Queen's actions.

The Christians call these two men two pedants, set over

the princess, as if she had still been in her minority, to correct and regulate her actions.

The too great authority of these two ministers became at length a kind of tyranny. The nobility complained for the loss of their privileges, and the people at their being oppressed with taxes; which made the ministry of Vasconcelli seem insupportable, in which it was seen the vice-queen had no part. This princess not having the power to stop the course of the mischiefs which began to spring up, gave advice of it to the court of Spain, and expected thence the remedy. But whether the king was not in a condition to give any, or his ministers concealed from him the state of things, the mischiefs increased, and Vasconcelli's friends, by excusing him, made it almost impossible to avoid them.

When Margarita represented the danger wherein Portugal lay, she was heard as a weak and credulous woman, and was often accused of being over timorous, which caused a general revolt in this kingdom, which was few day in contriving, and as few hours in executing.

If thou wilt hear thy humble slave, I will relate to thee all the circumstances of so great an event; which will seem a fable, should we refer ourselves only to reason; but which however is a real history, as is now well known throughout all Europe.

Never was there a greater hatred between two nations than that which was between the Spaniards and the Portuguese; and though they had one and the same religion, and almost the same humour, yet it is not to be imagined how far their mutual aversions carried them.

The Portuguese have a common proverb, which says, that a man is obliged to treat and love another man as his brother, whether he be a Turk, a Jew, a Pagan, or a Moor, without excepting the most barbarous of mankind; yea, though he were a Spaniard.



They have lived with great patience under the domination of Philip II. and his successors, since the death of their King D. Sebastian (who was killed in Africa, in a battle against the Moors), whilst they were suffered to enjoy the privileges which were granted them. Moreover, they still expected the return of their sovereign, who was said not to have died in the field, but having long wandered about in strange countries, was, in fine, about to return. But the example of the Catalonians made them at length resolve upon what they now executed. The nobility were the first that began the revolt, and passed over those bounds which respect does ordinarily place between the sovereign and his subjects.— They alleged several pretences for their rebellion; but the most specious was, their unwillingness to be sacrificed in unjust wars, wherein the most dangerous posts were committed to them, as they several times reproached the duke, favourite and minister of King Philip IV.

They immediately carried on their intelligences with great secrecy; and when they came to declare themselves, the greatest persons consented to the conspiracy, and the boldest amongst them have executed it with great valour.

Don Juan, Duke of Braganza, is the greatest nobleman in this kingdom, and perhaps in all Spain, and already of the age wherein men are wont to have wisdom, together with strength of body. He wants not for ingenuity and sweetness of temper. He received the crown, after long pressings and refusals; and indeed is the more worthy of it, as being the lawful heir to it.

The favourite duke was well enough informed of the reputation and authority of the Duke of Braganza; and considering him as a prince who might lawfully pretend to the crown, he made use of several artifices to drive him out of Portugal, or seize him prisoner. But

having always tried this in vain, whether by reason of the extraordinary watchfulness of Don Juan, or that the heavens, on which depend the things here below, had otherwise ordered it, it was impossible for this minister to get so good a prey into his hands.

This crafty minister has tried all ways, and sometimes made use of the fox's skin, and other whiles of the lion's voice, to bring about his ends. Sometimes he tried to draw him to court, offering him the most honourable employs there, persuading him to accompany the Catholic king in his voyage into Catalonia. But the duke knew how to defend himself against the snare, and timely withdrew to Villa Viciosa, the ordinary place of his abode; and whence he excused himself from going to Madrid, sometimes for that he had not sufficient to bear his charges according to his quality in such a journey, and other whiles on other pretences, with which the favourite duke was obliged to seem contented. Though he was not, yet he feigned himself to be satisfied, to put in practice the most exquisite piece of policy he ever made use of.

He sent him forty thousand pistoles, to buy necessities, and at the same time sent him also the general command of the troops in Portugal; with order to come to Lisbon, and as high constable of the kingdom, to observe the motions of the United Provinces, which threatened Spain and Portugal with a powerful fleet. But he had sent the following order to D. Lopez d'Offio: "Thou hast the command of the naval army; get immediately before Lisbon. Don Juan de Braganza has orders to visit the vessels: As soon as he shall enter the first galley, clap him in irons, and immediately depart with this prisoner to Cadiz, where I have appointed people to convey him to Madrid."

Don Lopez could not execute his commission; his army was lost in the English seas, and it was written in heaven, 'that Don Juan should live and be a king. This artifice having failed, the duke had recourse to another, which was, to send an order to the Duke of Braganza to visit all the forts on the frontiers, where there were strict injunctions to detain him. But he perceiving the project of the Spanish minister, knew so well to excuse himself from undertaking this business, that he made the design of his enemy to vanish this time also, and got leave to retire to Villa Viciosa. Those who penetrated not the artifices of the court of Spain, were astonished at the accumulation of so many favours and honours on the person of the duke; affirming, the court had intentions of raising him to the throne, or bringing him to the scaffold; in which last they were not mistaken.

Olivarez, who let slip no occasion of laying snares for Braganza, grew the more obstinate by the difficulties he met with. He sent him a new order to raise troops, and to lead them himself into Catalonia, for the chastisement of the rebels; this being of absolute necessity, said he in his letters, for the upholding of the Spanish monarchy, to which the revolt of this province caused great mischiefs.

The duke obeyed in part; he raised a considerable number of troops at his own charge; but he took care of his own person. He wrote to the court to excuse him from that voyage, and added to his excuses most earnest prayers; representing, that being sick of the world, he had retired to his own estate, to lead there a quiet life, free from the vexations of business; which obliged him to entreat his Catholic Majesty to grant him that rest, which was the only thing he desired. The Duke de Braganza's letter drew no answer from the

Spanish minister ; but his designs were discovered ; and the nobility foreseeing how likely they were to be brought under a more strict subjection, began to murmur, saying, it was their duty to rid themselves of those oppressors, who had so long peeled them, and set up a new form of government. The poor, who suffered most by the taxes, were the boldest, and encouraged the rest. Some were for setting up an elective king ; others proposed the raising to this honour the family of Braganza, who alone seemed worthy of it. Some there were who were for putting themselves under the domination of France ; and other persons of credit among the people were for a democratical government ; and others again were for turning the kingdom into a republic.

The nobility were in great perplexity in the choice they should make ; for it was not known whether the Duke of Braganza would receive the crown, in case it was offered him again ; for the most qualified persons of the kingdom had proposed it to him.

There was none but D. Gaston Cattique, a gentleman as eloquent as stout, whom Heaven designed for the persuading of this prince, that could accomplish it. He pretended to fight a duel with a nephew he had ; whom having slightly wounded, he left Lisbon, as a man that had brought himself into danger ; and wandering about from thence, uncertain, as it were, of the place of retreat he would choose, he went at length to Villa Viciosa, where having found Braganza in his solitude, he thus spake to him :

“ I bring thee this day a crown, which the nobility of Portugal present thee ; and if thou hast the courage to receive it, we are ready to put it on thine head. This kingdom belongs to thee, as the undoubted heir of our natural and lawful princes. If thou acceptest of the

crown, the kingdom justly belongs to thee ; and if thou darest not receive it, we will choose another sovereign of greater resolution, and who is willing to command us. The sceptre shakes in King Philip's hand, by reason of the wars made against him from all parts. Consider, if thou receivest not at present what fortune presents thee, thou wilt be obliged against thy will to obey another : Neither the nobility, the clergy, nor the people, will any longer suffer the arrogance of the Castilians. It belongs to thee, at present, to declare, whether thou wilt reign, and be a happy prince. All the faithful Portuguese breathe after thee, and desire thee for their sovereign. Resolve to accept of what is so advantageous, and let us alone for the executing of our parts."

Don Juan answered coldly to such a bold proposition ; more affrighted at the peril there was in such an enterprise, than flattered with the hopes of possessing a kingdom.

But in another conference, wherein the duke was told, the conspirators were resolved to raise on the throne another king, if he came not to a speedy resolution ; the dutchess his wife, who has a man's heart, and is more courageous than her husband, coming into the conversation, thus spake to him with great assurance :

" My lord, the Catholic king has sent for thee again to court ; at Madrid thou wilt certainly meet with thy death, and in receiving the crown which is offered thee, thou art still in danger of it ; but if thou must perish, which way soever thou turnest thyself, is it not more honourable to die a king in thine own country, than to die in chains in a prison by the hands of thine enemy ?"

So courageous a discourse brought Don Juan to a resolution ; wherefore he sent word to the nobility, of his readiness to comply with them.



The conspirators were ready at the hour appointed for the execution of their design ; being well armed, and each of them accompanied with a good number of young men, who were to follow them, although they knew not the design. As soon as ever the signal was given, they all set forth from the places where they were assembled ; and those that were farthest distant joined the nearest, and all together soon possessed themselves of the palace of the vice-queen ; they immediately made themselves masters of the guard, finding no resistance from them, and this without spilling a drop of blood, or doing any violence. They afterwards cried out all together, “ Long live the new king, Don Juan de Braganza, and let them die that govern ill.” They seized on the vice-queen, and entreated her to retire into an apartment, where she should be treated with the respect due to a princess, but not obeyed as having authority to command them.

Vasconcelli, who knew himself faulty, and to whom his conscience reproached his crimes, in this moment hid himself in a great press, under an heap of papers, where having been discovered by an old woman, he had immediately his throat cut, and his body thrown out at a window ; where he served for some time a May-game to the people ; who left not one part of his body free from some mark of their indignation.

One of this minister’s domestics threw himself out at the same window his master was thrown ; not in a design of following his fate, but of saving himself ; and he died without its being known whether it was by his fall, or the musket-shot which he received.

The confederates with as little trouble seized on the galleys and other vessels in the ports, whence they drove the Spaniards. They afterwards commanded the vice-queen to retire. This princess thought she ought on this

occasion to insist on the greatness of her birth; she threatened the conspirators, and afterwards flattered them, assuring them of the clemency of King Philip: She set before them the greatness of his power, and forgot not to speak of the authority of his favourite, who must needs be much offended on this occasion; exaggerating the offence committed against her, both as a princess, and depository of the Catholic king's power. But as well her promises as her threats were in vain, and she herself was at length glad to accept conditions from them, who a while before, by connivance from the prince, might have executed an absolute power.

In eight days time, all the Castilians were subdued, or driven out of the kingdom. All the forts were surrendered without any trouble to the new king, except the castle of St. John; which having made some slight resistance, was sold for forty thousand crowns by the governor.

The Duke of Braganza appeared immediately afterwards in the city of Lisbon, where the people soon showed the affection they had for him; the prison doors were set open, and all poor debtors freed, and a great part of the taxes taken off. Such an astonishing success was attended with whatever might set forth the joy of the people, who solemnized the festival with the sound of trumpets, and the noise of the cannon, and by shouts and acclamations which reached up to Heaven, whom the Portuguese thanked for the liberty which they believed they had recovered. This event was accompanied with so many miraculous things, that the wisest as well as the vulgar were persuaded, it was marked in Heaven from all eternity by the finger of God. The clergy, the nobility, the citizens and peasants, were profuse in their liberalities on this occasion, to give their new sovereign

ample marks of their affection ; and even the poor hid their misery, that they might not lessen the public joy.

The Spanish vessels which returned from the new world, which then entered into the ports of Portugal, remained at the disposal of the new king, the pilots not knowing what had happened ; so that the coffers of the prince were filled thereby (as it is said) with some millions.

The king was exalted to the throne in the last moon of the last year ; and wise people do hope he will reign very happily, all the planets being too well disposed, not to make him finish his reign with the same fortune as he began it.

The vigilant Portugueses have ordered out several vessels filled with good soldiers and necessary provisions, to seize of places and ports which this nation possesses in the new world and in the East Indies ; and it is to be supposed they will meet with good success, if fortune prove as favourable to them in America and the Indies, as she was to them in Europe.

As soon as the Duke of Braganza was proclaimed king, he sent manifestoes into all parts, and dispatched couriers and ambassadors to give advice of his promotion in the courts of France, England, Holland, Swedeland, and Denmark. It is not to be imagined the joy which this adventure gave to the Catalonians. The king imparting to them what had happened, offered them also his assistance ; and these people answered him with the same offers. And this is the end of sixty-three years of the despotic authority, which the Spaniards have exercised on the Portugueses.

The news of so strange a revolution having been carried unto Madrid, hear, and consider well the unhappy condition of the Catholic king, to whom his favourite declared this news.

“ Sir,” said he, “ I come to rejoice with your majesty at the good news I bring. Your majesty is now become master of a considerable dutchy. Don Juan de Braganza has had the boldness to make himself be proclaimed king of Portugal; has thereby fallen into the crime of læsæ majestatis: All his estate belongs to you, and is devolved to the crown, and his person will soon be in your power.”

Don Juan was son to Theodosius Duke of Braganza, grandchild to Donna Catharina, who was the daughter of Don Duarte, brother to Henry King of Portugal; and Philip II. King of Spain took away the crown from this Catharine, to whom it is said it did rightly belong.

The titles he assumes, are, King of Portugal, of Algarves, Afric on both sides of the sea, Lord of Guiney, of the navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and the Indies.

This new king is not above thirty-seven years old, of a middle stature, but well proportioned; his face marked with the small-pox, his hair inclining to yellow, an aquiline nose, high forehead, lively eyes, his mouth indifferently great, and a masculine voice. His carriage is grave, affects great modesty in his clothes, is temperate in his diet, affable to all sorts of people, unless slaves and such as he believes are hypocrites; and his common word is, “ That mean clothes will keep out the cold, and ordinary meats satisfy hunger.”

This prince is not much versed in books, is of a healthful constitution, loves laborious exercises, especially hunting, wherein he is never tired. He is also musically given, and so light of heel, that there are few people can outwalk him. He is wont to go to bed late and rise early, as knowing that sleep does take off much from man's life; and to complete his happiness, he has chil-

dren of both sexes. His wife is a Spanish lady of extraordinary merit, to whose marvellous courage and good qualities he owes his crown.

The kingdom of Portugal contains one hundred and twenty leagues in length, forty in breadth, and has several millions of subjects, comprehending those in the two Indies. It has three archbishoprics, and eight bishoprics, keeping ordinarily forty vessels, which find ports in eight places of the country. They can maintain thirty thousand foot, and several regiments of horse. The revenue of this kingdom may amount to twenty millions of gold, reckoning in the riches which come from the Indies, Brasil, Angola, and several other islands.

The French monarch will hold a good intelligence with the House of Braganza; England will enter into an alliance with her; the pope will concern himself on neither side; the emperor, united by blood and interest to the Spaniards, will be an irreconcilable enemy, but unable to do them any hurt; and the states of Holland will find greater advantage than all others in this strange revolution. These are the sentiments of those that pretend to penetrate into the future, and to know more than others. And if it be true that this new sovereign has had, as all men in his place would have had, a secret desire of being king, he has so well concealed his ambition, that it is to be supposed he will prove a most judicious prince, that will uphold his authority more by his wisdom and prudence than by force. The just God cut short the course of his ill designs, should he have the courage and desire of revenging one day the death of his predecessor Don Sebastian, on the faithful muskumans of Afric.

Thou wilt find, invincible Visier, the faithful and respectful Mahmut always ready to execute the orders.



which thou shalt send him for the emperor's service ; and ready to obey the least signs of thy victorious hand to death, whether natural or violent.

Paris, 15th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1641.

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XXVI.—To ENGURULI EMIR MEHEMET CHEIK, a  
*Man of the Law.*

TELL me this once, whether thou beest alive and at liberty ; and whether thou dost really love me, or only pretend it. My friends return no answers to my letters, which makes me strangely ignorant of all things ; I know only by conjecture that which is never so little doubtful ; and that which is certain cannot be known here truly as it falls out, as being related according to people's passions and interests. There is no body dares write to me freely what he thinks ; and there are few that will inform me of what is come to their knowledge, lest their letters should be intercepted.

I know very well we have a new master, but I know not whether he be thought a more able prince than Amurath, and has the same courage and fancy for war. The Chiaus that lately arrived in this court of France is very reserved to me, and makes a mystery of every thing.

Amurath is dead : Those who say he was cruel, yet declare him to be the most dexterous, valiant, and completest man in his empire. The Christians are fools, who will not hence gather, that our monarchs most certain maxim to reign with authority and perfect security is, " To make themselves be feared, and not to be shy of spilling the blood of those who serve them ill, who are suspected by them, or may prove troublesome to them." Those troops of mutes which abide always in the sera-

glio, ready to obey the least sign of those who give them orders, maintain, increase, and render formidable the Ottoman power; for the empire would never be at peace, but in continual trouble, should all the sons and nephews of our sultans be suffered to live; and we should have a whole nation of princes, who would be always a-biting and tearing, and ruining one another by civil wars, as is often seen to happen among the Christians. Whence this certain maxim is practised, "That it is better it should cost innocent persons their lives, than not to destroy those who may be faulty."

Indeed, I must confess, I knew not that Amurath himself killed with his own hands his own sister. Thou that knowest the secret of this tragedy canst tell, whether he was transported to that excess, because she answered with great haughtiness to the sultane's mother, who reprehended her on some secret love she entertained. If this be the case she died not innocent, and I have a great curiosity to know the particulars of it.

But do not relate to me the unhappy end of his two brothers, Bajazet and Orcan, lest thou make an old wound bleed afresh. Poor princes, what crime have they committed, if their brother reigns? Cruel king! How great was thy inhumanity, seeing they obeyed without murmuring.

But Amurath was a dreadful lover, who tamed his passions with a poniard; he stabbed the most beautiful of his sultane's; and for what reason? The Christians pardon him the blood of his brethren which he spilt, of his sister, and of the brave Facardin, several visiers, of his friends, and so many brave commanders, and illustrious persons, but they will not pardon him the death of a mistress; for they cannot conceive how a prince, a musulman, can play the hangman in such a delicious place,

where he has nothing to do but to think of giving his love agreeable marks of his passion. But you will tell me, perhaps, she was so bold as to wear in his sight, flowers and perfumes which came from his brother; It is certainly a great crime not to obey those who have all power to command us; but it is a greater crime to lay on commands, to have an occasion for cruelty. They say, a man which does such an action is a monster, but I do not say so.

Inform me what the new Sultan Ibrahim does, of his humour and inclination. It appears he is still infirm, and stupified with his long imprisonment. What alterations has his entrance into the empire produced? Will he be sanguinary as his brother was, or gracious and merciful?

Speak to me once, my dear friend, with all freedom, void of disguise; is he amorously inclined? I much value such princes, for they are generally mild; and this passion softens them, how cruel soever they may be, makes them liberal, and strangers to covetousness, that cruel monster, which clouds and sullies the brightest virtues.—How many persons are employed to choose fine women for the seraglio, to contribute to Ibrahim's pleasure? Happy will the handsomest women of Asia be. But the eyes of this monarch will be made like other men's, which are not always allured with the greatest beauties. Hence it is that we have seen in our emperor's seraglio, ladies which surpassed in charms all others, and yet died virgins, and neglected by them to whose pleasures they were consecrated.

The Chiaus has only informed me, that Ibrahim appears often on horseback in the city, and seems a just and merciful prince, and designs to make the shepherd Hassien, prime visier; he that was so long the compa-

nion of his prison. It is said he often made it his employment to divert Ibrahim in his confinement, by playing on his pipe, and making him discourses without art, and extreme innocent, of what he did when he kept sheep. He told me also, that he often went for his diversion on the Black Sea, to take the air, and enjoy that liberty of which he was so long deprived; that he is also much delighted with the reading of Greek books, especially Xenophon and Plutarch; that he is very devout, though not superstitious, according to the humour of the devotees of our law, who will have our sovereigns be implacable enemies to the Christians. If this be necessary to salvation, to persecute a religion contrary to ours, what will become of all those who are dead, and never did it? I am of opinion, "That true holiness consists in doing good, and living in charity with all men."

The infidels with whom I live at present, for the emperor's service, whose subject I am, do glory in their strict observance of this precept, which is in their religion, and they are happy if they keep it. But tell me, dost thou think our emperor is not like to have children, as is already reported, and that he cannot live long. They are not only the idle people that talk at this rate, but those whose interest obliges them to know who is to be the successor; and many of the solidest think it will be the King of the Tartars, and that those of the race of Mula Honkair will be excluded.

This race is really illustrious, but every body knows not the rise of it. The head of this family descends from Tamerlane; thou knowest the rest, and I will not dispute with thee about genealogies.

Whatever passes here below is so uncertain, that thou mayest accuse me of imprudence in discoursing of things at this distance; for, in-effect, Ibrahim may be a father

by this time. Pray to God, who disposes of thrones, makes races endure, or decay ; merit from him, by fastings and prayers, and beg of him, that he would give me the grace to live blameless, and die innocent ; that I may enter with thee into heaven, and there enjoy those unspeakable good things which are reserved for the faithful.

Love me, though distant from thee ; and let me have tokens of thy friendship, by stealing some moments of leisure from thy ordinary business to write to me.

Paris, 25th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1641.

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## B O O K IV.

### LETTER I.—*To the Venerable MUFTI, Prince of the Religion of the Mussulmans.*

THERE is now found in one man alone, whatever several persons of great ingenuity could acquire by long experience ; and this man is Cardinal de Richlieu, to whose reputation thou art no stranger. He was designed, like thee, for the affairs of his church, and dedicated to religion ; but he is not so much employed about them, but that he applies himself with as great care to the affairs of the world ; and it is he, who under the authority of the king his master, governs the affairs of the French. I obey thee, venerable musti ; thou hast enjoined me to inform thee of the particular actions of this famous prelate : But I shall not say much of him, it being impossible to fathom him. He is the most dexterous and subtle



politician that lives in all the countries of the unbelievers. The famous Greek Lyfander was never so cunning ; neither did Tiberius show half so much dissimulation at Rome, nor judgment in affairs, as he ; no not in the time when he set himself to remove his rivals, and take away all obstacles which might hinder his obtaining the empire. He interprets all the doubts which arise in his religion ; he is the arbiter of rewards and punishments, and the king, who knows his zeal and ability, leaves to him the direction of his kingdom and people, which he governs and leads as Jacob led the flocks of Laban. This cardinal wants only the art which this great patriarch had, to make men be born as he pleases, as this holy Israelite made the sheep.

There came some days since a person from Germany, who went immediately to the palace of this minister, and sent him word by his captain of the guards, that the letter B was come. The officer was unwilling to deliver this kind of message to his master, and therefore desired the German to explain this riddle ; but he only told him laughing, that the cardinal's alphabet was like the famous knife of Delph, which served to all purposes ; so that he need only mention the arrival of the letter B, and he would be understood ; which was no sooner done, but this German was privately introduced into this minister's closet, where he had a long conference ; but I could never hear the subject of it.

He that by his word created all things, increase thy health ; and make thy authority ever adored and feared ; even in Rome itself.

Paris, 25th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1641.

II.—*To the REIS EFFENDI, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

I COME but now from learning an adventure, which yet happened some days since ; but all things are carried on with such secrecy in France, that it is almost impossible to know any thing before it is made public.

There was apprehended here, in the last moon of January, certain ruffians, in the habit of hermits, who were to assassinate Cardinal Richlieu.

These wretches confessed before the judges, as soon as they were put on the rack, their intention of killing the king's favourite, because he was no friend to the Duke de Vendosme, who is natural son to the deceased King Henry the Great. This adventure has greatly surpris'd the court ; each man speaking of it according as his interest or affection inclines him. The Duke of Vendosme's friends have declared themselves against the cardinal ; and this minister's creatures have much aggravated this attempt, to render this prince's family more odious, and heighten the cardinal's reputation. But the Duke de Mercœur, the Duke of Vendosme's son, rode immediately to Paris with the Duke de Beaufort, his brother ; the first *incognito*, to consult his friends, and the other to present himself to the cardinal, to obtain that their father might justify himself before the king, from the accusation laid against him.

The grandchild of Henry the Great has since desired to be confronted with the hermits, and has obtained it ; but his departure at the same time into England has wrought much amazement.

Some say he has taken an unwise course, and others say no ; because he could not prudently expose himself to the testimony of such wretches, who would not matter what they said.

However, these hermits were publicly executed, and their accomplices are not yet discovered; neither is it yet known whether any persons of quality have had a part in the conspiracy; which is not the first that has been carried on against this favourite; and it is believed will not be the last. He has a great many enemies; and the absolute authority with which he governs, by the favour of his prince, will always raise him such adversaries as will either ruin his fortune, or take away his life.

If I write not oftener to thee, thou oughtest not to think my affection ever the less. Set down in thy register what I inform thee. Let me have thy friendship and protection in things which are just, and change not thy opinion of me till I am changed myself.

Paris, 15th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1641.

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### III.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

**JULIUS MAZARINI**, a man about forty-five years of age, of a solid judgment, and incredible perspicuity, of whose family I know no more but that he is originally from Sicily, and born in Italy, in the chief city of it, Rome, is lately introduced into this court. He has by his ingenious carriage gained the favour and confidence of Cardinal Richlieu; and he begins already to be employed in the most important business. Those who make reflections on the affairs of the world, and carefully examine the extraordinary talents of this Italian, are persuaded one may expect great things from him; yet, however, the best way is not to be hasty in judging of the good or bad qualities of a man. He has already been employed in quality of plenipotentiary of the King of France in Piedmont, to negotiate an accommodation

between all the princes of the House of Savoy ; and he has laboured so fortunately, that every body is astonished that his first undertakings should meet with such happy success ; especially considering the hatreds and pretensions between the Dutchess of Savoy and her brothers-in-law. Thou mayest remember that I wrote to thee that the differences of this family were like to last, and unlikely to be determined without great bloodshed, both of the French and Spaniards. But Mazarini, who is a most expert courtier, and dexterous agitant, has ended this affair much to his master's honour, to the satisfaction of the parties interested, and the cardinal, who procured him this commission. He established the peace in Piedmont, and an union betwixt the parties, by bringing over to the French interest two men who were enemies to it, who were, Prince Thomas, a captain of great reputation, and the Cardinal of Savoy, his brother, a person of a consummate policy, and an excellent soldier, though a churchman.

It is mentioned in the treaty, that these two princes shall be received into the King of France's protection ; that if the young duke dies without children, and the cardinal marries, his children shall be the heirs of the estate of Savoy ; and in defect of those Prince Thomas's.

It is moreover declared in the same treaty, that the King of Spain shall be sought to, touching the liberty of the wife and children of Prince Thomas, who are detained prisoners at Madrid ; and he shall be also solicited to surrender the places he holds belonging to the Duke of Savoy ; and in case the Catholic king shall not restore them, and set at liberty the wife and children of this prince, he shall be obliged to serve against the said king in the army of France. It is moreover inserted among these articles, that the most Christian King shall

procure a marriage to be made between one of the children of the said prince, with the Duke of Longueville's daughter, who is a rich heiress; and that France should never make any treaty with Spain, without comprehending the liberty of the princess, and the aforesaid princes.

Prince Thomas is now expected here; and it is said he will command the army of France in Italy against the Spaniards, it being certain they will never restore what they have once taken, neither will they set their prisoners at liberty.

The king entertaining himself some days past with the ambassador of a foreign prince, said to him these words: "When the Spaniards shall restore to the Duke of Savoy the places they keep from him, I shall willingly discharge myself of the burden of the government of those I keep." And the cardinal has publicly expressed himself to this purpose: "That his master's design was only to humble the pride of the house of Austria, and reduce it to such a condition, as that its neighbours might have no such great cause of fear from them; seeing the least motion of theirs raised alarms among them. That his endeavours were not laid out in aggrandizing the dominion of France, seeing the bounds of it were large enough already; his intentions being only to give his sovereign the last proof of his zeal and affection, by leaving the kingdom in a profound peace, which might make his majesty beloved of his neighbours, and feared by those who are jealous of his greatness and power; he being hereby the arbiter of Europe, and reigning more absolutely by this means, than if all their estates belonged to him." What I have written to thee, happened some time since; but what I am now to inform thee of, is quite new.

We have an account, that the princes of Savoy have



not kept their word with the King, Cardinal Richlieu, and Mazarini; and designs are now taking in hand to punish so great an affront; and these are busied in thoughts of revenging a widow princess, who has been so long forced to behold bloody tragedies in her house, by the wars which the princes of the blood make continually; wherein strangers do interest themselves, who ruin the estates, and keep them up in perpetual discord.

This business will cause new troubles in Italy, and thou shalt therefore not fail of intelligence of the particulars. However, the princes of Savoy are blamed by all the world, and charged with want of sincerity. But this being almost a rule amongst the Christians, "to observe their word no longer than they find their advantage in it;" thou needest not therefore much wonder at what these princes have done: Whereby thou wilt know, that a mean interest being the motive that sets them at work, and which is all their reason of state; he that will one day equally judge all the world, and can overturn all the universe in less time than he created it, will destroy the little powers of these weak politicians, who acknowledge the law of the Nazarite, to the immortal glory of the venerable and holy name of the faithful mussulmans.

Paris, 25th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1641.

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#### IV.—To DGNET OGLOU.

I must forget myself, if I forget thee; but thinking often on myself, I cannot forget thee; because thou art my second self. Be persuaded, I speak my heart, and that I have no other design but that of loving thee, that thou mayest answer me with the same affection; for I desire thy happiness as I do my own.

I am endeavouring to procure thee the confidence of the invincible Visier Azem, without his perceiving my design ; and this is the best manner I could devise of doing it. Thou shalt pretend to receive from some friend, which thou shalt leave at Palermo, the memoirs which I send thee with this letter ; and it will not be difficult to make it be believed, thou holdest a correspondence in this town of Sicily, considering the time we have lived there together during our slavery.

The august visier, who rules and governs the empire under the orders of the most mighty and dreadful potentate of the earth, will receive by this ordinary, an ample information of extraordinary events which have happened in Portugal ; and I have also informed him of the strange revolutions of Catalonia, which do much weaken the strength of Spain, and notably mortify the pride of this haughty nation. I have made known to him, that Portugal has already made choice of a king, and that Catalonia is departing from her allegiance. But I have given him no account of the choice memoirs which I send thee ; with which thou mayest make advantage, if thereby thou canst find the way of introducing thyself to the Grand Visier.

Thou mayest then say to this great minister, that thou hast received the memoirs thou presentest him with, and assure him thou hast translated them out of the Italian into Arabic ; and thou must transcribe them with thine own hand, that they may not appear to have come from me.

The King of Spain, Philip II. died of a shameful disease, which happens only to base people, which appeared a chastisement from heaven, for having, like David, numbered the people which dwell in the countries subject to him, to make known to all nations the greatness of his power.

It is certain this monarch reckoned as far as 750 cities erected into bishoprics; therein comprehending 60 archbishoprics: That he had abbies 11400, chapters 9230, as many collegiate cathedrals; parish churches 127,000, hospitals 4000, confraternities 23000, congregations of seculars 2300, houses of entertainment for pilgrims 3000, 46000 convents of religious people, and of virgins 13500; with 15200 chapels wherein mass is said, as well in public churches, as particular houses and prisons.

And after an exact search, this king found, that to serve so great a number of churches, monasteries, convents, hospitals, and chapels, there were 12900 religious, monks, priests or clerks, amongst whom there might be found 12400 priests, which celebrate what the Christians call the mass. And to maintain so many people, it was computed that the revenue for this amounted to 3,000,000 of Roman crowns, without reckoning the alms which were distributed every day, which amount to the sum of 4,000,000 of gold.

The curiosity of this prince went farther; he would know the number of all his royal officers, governors of provinces, towns, castles, and citadels; and, in fine, of all officers, as well of sea as land, judges, justiciaries of all kinds, and of all those who had patents from him or his viceroys; and he found they were 83000 who were employed under letters sealed with his hand, and 360,000 who had them signed under his principal ministers.

He would not know the number of persons that lived in his states, lest he should become too proud, and to prevent his fall, said he, into the sin of David; which he yet could not avoid in his own person, as I have already said, God having spared his subjects, who had otherwise sufficiently suffered.

One may now say, that this puissant monarchy begins

to be dismembered by the loss of so many provinces, kingdoms, and places; and that Philip II. knew not the full extent of his power; Philip III. knew not the greatness of his forces, nor the riches which he possesses, because his ministers governed him; and Philip IV. not seeing when he might see, could not see at last when he would.

I think I have said enough to thee to be understood. Do now what thou canst, to make thyself understood by persons to whom these advices may be agreeable or profitable; and if thou believest, the knowledge of these things may be acceptable to the invincible visier, who is one of the lights of the world, endeavour to procure the favour of this great man, who governs all the faithful, and to whom the Divine Alcoran serves for a law. I embrace thee, and cordially kiss thee with the lips of my soul, if a man may so express himself. Adieu.

Paris, 4th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1641.

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V.—*To the Invincible VISIER AZEM.*

THE posts which came some few days past here, have brought ill news. One of the king's armies has been defeated by an army composed of foreigners; at the head of whom was a prince of France, and several malcontent lords who followed him. This loss has much afflicted the court, and Paris seems to be thunderstruck. The people discourse and argue hereupon according to their different humours, most making the loss greater than it was. But those who have lost their kinsfolk threaten revenge; and only those that have heard of the death of their friends are silent, because their grief is above expression. But all in general appear in such a consternation, as would

make a man imagine this stroke is irreparable ; so true it is, that losses are insufferable to those that are not accustomed to lose.

One would think, to hear the French talk, that the Spaniards are already at the walls of Paris, and that these rebellious princes are ready to give an assault to this great town. They have retired into a place which they say is impregnable, and which belongs to a French lord, which place is called Sedan, and it is not far thence where this bloody battle was fought, wherein the king's party were worsted ; but the malcontents are much afflicted at the loss of their general, who was killed in the heat of the fight. Some say he died by treachery ; others by the enemy ; and there are who affirm, that Cardinal Richlieu got rid of him by means of an assassin, whom he entertained in his troops : Others also say he killed himself, by lifting up the vizor of his helmet with his pistol, which discharged itself : However, there is dead in the person of this prince, a prince of great valour.

I shall make thee a recital of this adventure ; I shall learn thee the motives of this war ; inform thee who were the malcontents, and their qualities ; and, in fine, by what cabals this tempest is raised ; that thou mayest know, great and principal prop of the Ottoman empire, that ambition and jealousy cause disorders in France, as well as in other countries.

Lewis de Bourbon, Count de Soissons, was a prince of the blood ; he had such a fierceness in his youth, as drove away all from him, who once came near him ; but having got over this humour, which disoblinded every body, he became popular, and so courteous, that he was now followed as much as he was shunned before. He used the nobility as became their quality ; had acquired the friendship of other princes, and those of inferior rank



could not enough admire him. He was adored by the soldiery, beloved and esteemed by the people; and he had, in a word, so behaved himself, that he had gotten the general applause.

Cardinal Richlieu has a niece named Madam de Combalet, who having been married to a gentleman, aspired to an higher match, seeing all things to give place, and humble themselves before her uncle.

The cardinal designed by the marriage of this niece, to procure himself such a puissant prop, that nothing should be able to overthrow his fortune, or oppose his authority; he pretended also, his life would be more in safety; and that such an alliance, with those he already had, would put him out of a capacity of being ever attacked by any enemies, secret or declared, whose number increased as fast as his authority.

Several affirm, this priest had ambition enough to give an heir, who might one day ascend the throne; when it appeared by the queen's barrenness, the king could have no child to succeed him.

But the state of affairs being changed, he took other measures; and thinking of having the count in his alliance, he caused the proposals of this marriage of his niece to be offered the prince, by one of his most intimate confidants, who offered him at the same time considerable sums of money, and dignities, to make him heir of all his vast estates, and to procure him the greatest office in the kingdom, which is that of constable.

The Count of Soisson's answer to him that made the proposal, was a box on the ear; being in an extreme passion at any one's daring to offer him a match so greatly beneath him, when Madam de Combalet was the widow of a gentleman of mean condition, and niece to a

cardinal whom he hated, and himself a prince of the blood.

The cardinal's messenger, desirous his negotiation should succeed, was not repelled by this affront. He insisted on the virtue of the cardinal's niece, saying, she would be courted by the greatest in France; and added farther in commendation of this lady, that she was a virgin, although married, because her husband, out of respect, dared not approach her; and that heaven has so ordered it, that this adventure should be found written in the anagram of her name.

This minister could not dissemble his vexation at the refusal; his choler became excessive, and he resolved to practise his usual maxim, "of violently persecuting those whose friendship he had sought with most eagerness." He therefore wholly set himself against this prince, spoke all the ill he could of him, publicly threatened his enemy; but he valued him not, looking on the cardinal as beneath his notice.

In the mean time, the cardinal plotted to put his threats into execution, and brought the king in, to countenance him by his authority; which obliged the count to absent himself and make a voyage into Italy, to avoid the storm he was threatened with. Yet his voyage lasted not long, and at his return the cardinal did all he could now to win him; he procured him suitable employs in the armies, and made him at length be declared general of that which the king sent on the frontiers of Picardy. Yet this haughty prince received all with indifferency, saying openly, that a captain was given to the army, and not an army to a captain.

The grandees of the court who observed afar off what passed in this intrigue, instead of mollifying the count's humour, did all they could to sharpen it. The Duke of

Orleans, the king's brother, who was always this minister's enemy, linked himself with Soissons; exhorting him not to yield to the cardinal's pursuits; and it is said he drew a promise from him under his hand, that he would never accept of the marriage proposed; and they afterwards swore fidelity to one another, and that they would join together for the destruction of the common enemy; and for this effect they took measures with Prince Thomas, of the House of Savoy, who is at present general of the Spanish army in Flanders: They also brought the Duke de Valette, and several lords of the kingdom, into their party. Almost all the conspirators were for killing the cardinal, and the time of the stroke should be when he visited the quarters of the army which besieged Corbie; but the count alone would not consent to dip his hands in the blood of a priest.

But the Duke de Valette, who saw the danger wherein he was when the conspiracy came to be discovered, resolved to shelter himself by the blackest treachery that could be imagined: He discovered to the cardinal all the accomplices; of which the Count de Soissons having notice, he speedily withdrew to Sedan. I shall not make thee (invincible leader) a description of this place, which regards on one side Luxemburg, and on the other France, it not lying in my way to make draughts of fortifications like an engineer, but to give thee a full account of what the infidels do, and discover their designs, whereby thou mayest gather what may make for the advantage of our great monarch, whose power cannot be shaken, but by the entire overthrow of the universe.

Sedan is a dominion which formerly belonged to the Dukes of Cleves, who were sovereigns of it, and at the same time Dukes de Bouillon. When the count was in this place he thought himself safe; the Marechal de

Bouillon, who was the master of it, by the testament of the last of this family, declared himself of his party, either to make war together against the cardinal by open force, or drive him out of this kingdom, or to get rid of him by death. Here it was they made their secret treaties with those who commanded for the Spaniards in the Low Countries; and a prince of the House of Lorraine entered into their cabal. He bears the cardinal as much ill will, and appears as resolute as the rest for his destruction: He is called the Duke of Guise.

There wanted only to this party the Duke of Orleans, the king's only brother; and therefore the Duke of Guise dispatched a messenger to him, who sold in one day both his master and all the rest that were of the conspiracy. He discovered all the secrets of the cabal; and, the better to carry on his deceit, he caused himself to be apprehended and thrown into prison, having given his dispatches to the king's brother, which he had before showed the cardinal. This traitor was not contented with revealing these gentlemen's secrets who had sent him; but also made it appear that the prince, the king's brother, was guilty as an accomplice of the others rebellion. Thus these great men, grown desperate at the discovery of their projects, which were indeed contrary to their sovereign's interests, and the kingdom's, were forced to throw themselves into the arms of the Spaniards, and to join with them.

They have raised troops amongst their vassals and friends, and openly declared themselves; and fought with great valour, as I have already mentioned in the beginning of my letter. The king's army has been very ill handled, and it appears that the advantage was wholly on the confederates side; but it has cost the Count of Soissons his life, who was general and chief of the party;

and it is at present disputed to whom is due the honour of the victory.

I prostrate myself continually at thy feet, to kiss, with all humility, the dust of them, assuring thee thou hast in me a most faithful slave, that will never change.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1641.

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VI.—*To SOLYMAN, his Cousin, at Constantinople.*

PONTIUS PILATE was an honefter man than thou. He, although a pagan, excused himself of the false sentence he should pronounce on the Christians Messias, by washing his hands before the Jews who sought his death; and thou that art a Mahometan, as I am, and wasthest thy whole body in the baths at Constantinople, in the presence of our friends, accusest and condemnest me rashly without any scruple. Thou usest me like a rogue, so maliciously art thou set against me, who am of the same religion which thou professest. How canst thou justify the hatred thou bearest me, in endeavouring to make the Kaimacham believe I have been corrupted by the cardinal, who is the King of France's chief minister? Adding, that he ought no more to heed my letters and relations sent to the Sublime Porte (where lie prostrate all the powers of the world), as not written by an Arabian, but by a sacrilegious heretic; that I deceive the musti, so venerable for the authority which he has in such an holy religion, of which he is the worthy head; and that I amuse him by my letters, the better to conceal my change, seeing I adore in my heart, and publicly profess, an entire submission to the decrees of the Roman prelate.

The quality of thy cousin, which I have whether I will or no, is so far from withholding thee, that it is



made use of to carry on thy pernicious designs. O, unworthy kinsman ! infamous hypocrite ! Thou wilt discredit me, and break off the course of my employment, because I serve effectually the greatest prince of the universe. Thou approvedst not only my conduct when I began my endeavours, under the orders of the ministers of the Divan ; but thou applaudedst me, gave me praises : And now, when all the ministers are satisfied with me, and approved of my behaviour, and gave me their commendations, thou art the only man who thinkest it fitting to traverse me, to obscure my reputation, and blacken my actions. Is this the fruit of thy studies with Hippo at Athens, to whom thou owest thy knowledge of Greek authors, which thou so greatly braggest of ? Answer me, unjust cousin, What is thy design of having me called away by thy base defamations ? When did I offend thee, and wherein, I pray ? But thy artifices, how great and malicious soever they be, will not prevail over the sincerity of my heart ; and as I shall always exactly perform my duty, so I fear not the loss of my prince's favour ; he will approve of what I do, and thou wilt die with envy and despite.

I needed not have been mistaken ; I might have seen the falseness of thine heart by thy countenance. Thou art an Heraclitus, always melancholy, and out of humour, that cannot rejoice, should Heaven favour our invincible monarch's projects. Thou art a false Zeno, who, under the affected appearance of a Stoic, concealest a Cynical heart, whose critical humour is always biting on the actions of others. Nature has covered thy face with sadness, mixed with a deadly paleness, because thou art always busied about some doleful matter. In like manner it appears, that Pythagoras has instructed thee to speak little, as knowing thou art not fit to say or do any

thing but what is hurtful. I know not what is become of Ifouf, having no account of him. I am afraid thou hast corrupted this my kinsman, that I might have no ally or faithful friend. Thou hast not failed to instruct him well, having given him so good an example ; and he has, without doubt, been so ungrateful as to imitate thee. He is returned from Mecca, and makes me no answer, giving me no account whether he has made the offering for me on the mountain, whether he has sacrificed the sheep, whether he has distributed the alms I enjoined him, and whether he will send me, as I entreated him, a small piece of the old hangings of the sacred mosque. But I will not concern myself so much at what others do, my intention being to complain only of thee, because others offences are not comparable to thine, thou having not left one stone unturned to ruin me.

Continue then in thine ill nature : I write only to acquaint thee, that I am not ignorant of whatever thou hast done against me. There is nobody but old Baba, thine uncle who can work a change in thee : Go to him ; be not ashamed to see a man who is employed in the meanest works to have more judgment than thee : Show him the infirmities of thy soul ; or, to speak better, confess to him all the ill things thou hast done, if thou hast any intention of becoming an honest man. Although he be but a carpenter, he knows better than thee to form the mind ; he can teach thee how to polish and square thy soul as he polishes a piece of oak, though never so hard and knotty.

He is perfectly instructed in the law ; he is brought up in the principles of religion ; he will guide thee, if thou wilt suffer him, in the way which leads to perfection ; he will not permit thee to lie ; he will put thee on making restitution to those whose good name thou hast

unjustly taken ; and he will comfort thee, if thou beest really sorrowful for the ill thou hast done, and if thou shoudest any regret at thy former purposes of destroying a kinsman that loved thee, and still wishes thee all kinds of happiness, if thou repentest of thy unjust persecutions, and if, of a bad cousin, which thou hast been, thou wilt become a sincere and hearty friend.

Paris, 20th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1641.

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### VII.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

I SAY not that those are fools who are in love, but must needs think that those who believe lightly, are not overladen with discretion. It is hard for a man always to keep himself from falling into a passion ; but it is not so hard for a man to keep himself from believing things with too great facility, and from being caught with falsehoods, which are the most constant attendants of women.

Thou hast spoke the truth to me, in sending me the balm and aloes I wrote for ; and I shall not answer thee with lies, in speaking of Daria, who is the subject of the letter which I received from thee. Let me thank thee, without saying any thing of the present thou madest me, which is very magnificent and acceptable ; and suffer me to complain to thee freely of the hurt which another has done me. I need not consult my register to remember whatever I wrote to thee about this Greek ; my heart, which is yet full of it, reproaches me every moment for having said too much to thee on that subject.

Never any thing appeared to me so desirable as that

herb which Homer called Nepente, to cure me of the cruel distemper with which I am tormented. This prince of poets makes a queen of our Egypt to present this admirable simple to Helena, which has the virtue of appeasing immediately all dolours, and makes us forget the vexations and offences offered us. But thou wilt not understand me, unless I tell thee clearly, that Daria has forgotten all the promises she made me, as soon as ever she was from me, not remembering in any sort my love. It is true, she wrote twice to me since her departure, but in so cold a style, that it is plainly seen her heart is as cold as ice to me. As soon as ever she saw herself in the arms of her husband, she made him a sacrifice of my passion; and the better to make her court to him, and persuade him of her fidelity, she delivered to him my letters. The husband laughed in reading them, and said to her, in a jeer to me, "A man then so desperately in love, has only sighed and wrote?" "He has done something more (replied this dissembling woman), having promised to send me a box of white balm of Mecca and aloes-wood, to perfume me, which yet I do not expect to receive soon, and perhaps never; for if Mahmut be not become a fool, he will as soon forget me, as I shall certainly forget him." "And what hast thou promised this barbarian?" replied immediately the husband. "I promised," replied Daria, "to send with my picture that of the most chaste of all women; which yet I do not pretend to do without your consent, nay, and command."

What I now inform thee, comes from a place which makes me not at all doubt the certainty of it. But having learned by what I relate, the virtue of this woman, now hear what the husband's was; who having seen my picture, and commended the painter that drew it, embraced tenderly his wife, whom he respected as a most

singular example of conjugal fidelity. Thou wilt wonder at Daria's weakness in showing him my picture ; she did do it, and her confidence has turned to account, she having received a thousand chaste embraces for a recompense. Thou seest here the happiness of the Christian women, who have husbands who take so favourably the offences done them during their absence.

In the mean time, Daria's picture does not come ; she returns no more answers to my letters, which has discouraged me to write to her for some time. My passion begins not to be so violent ; and this great fire which consumed me will soon turn into ashes. I have been mightily mistaken, for it is only amongst persons of an equal condition where true and lasting friendships are to be found. Let us love, my dear Dgnet, let the bonds of our friendship be such as will never break nor be dissolved. Daria is really a great example of fidelity to her husband ; but she is also an example of inconstancy and treachery to a lover who had sacrificed all to her.

I am resolved henceforward to love no woman ; and I am certain, my dear friend, that my resolution shall hold. Rejoice with me at my cure, and believe, that if a fine and charming woman disordered my brains, the good humour and patience of her husband has brought me again to my senses. My adventure should make thee careful to avoid the like inconveniencies ; but thou canst not run that risk, being happy with the other mussulmans of Constantinople, who have laws which retain and hinder them from falling into the like irregularities.

I hope also thou wilt give over being my rival, if thou hast ever had any kindness for this ungrateful Greek. If men must love once in their lives, let them have a care of falling into those excesses which deprive them of their reason, and make them repent of their love all the days



of their lives. My repentance is great ; and though my passion be not wholly extinct, yet I feel a joy which makes me know, that I shall by degrees lose my passion for her.

Thou mayest well be tired with this long discourse ; but I shall end it, in sending thee a description which one of the greatest wits in Spain has made of women.

He says, “ They be the sources of life and death ; that they are to be considered as fire, because they use all that come near them as that element does ; yet they give man a certain necessary heat : They are fine things ; bring joy to families and whole towns ; but are dangerous to keep, enflaming all that comes near them, and reducing them commonly into ashes. They usually give a great lustre, but this lustre is never without such a smoke as darkens the understanding, and makes them often shed tears who only behold them. He that has no commerce with women, spends his life in melancholy, and yet they are seldom seen without danger. The way to manage them is not to do excessive things for them, no more than wholly to neglect them. A man oft obtains them easily, and commonly loses them more easily. Fire and a woman are exactly the same ; and he that said women are fires which burn all things, has said likewise, that fire is like women, which consumeth all things.”

But our religious Arabians have spoken yet more elegantly, when they wrote, “ That God made a particular paradise for them ; because, say they, should they enter into that of men, they would soon change it into a hell.”

Eve played her part so well, when she was seduced by the serpent in the terrestrial paradise, that she deceived her spouse also, that he might lie under the like condemnation. But however, this sex having, among so many

defects, something that is amiable, let us love them at least because of their usefulness for continuing the species, but not for their beauty; whose enchantments corrupt the mind, and hinder all the excellent operations of it; for men perhaps would be angels were there no women; I mean bad ones; for good women, as well as good men, can do no hurt. Adieu.

Paris, 20th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1641.

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#### VIII.—*To CARCOA at Vienna.*

THE courier which is now arrived has brought me letters and money from thee. I shall receive the money upon the bill of exchange, when it is due, under the name of Titus. I am extremely obliged to thee for the care thou hast taken in procuring it me, being in a country where good words are of no credit. I have received also the box, wherein is the balm and aloes sent me by my friend Oglou, all in good condition, and come in good time. I want only to know how it is with Isouf; for he writes no more to me. I am informed he is returned from his pilgrimage, and yet has not sent to thee what I desired him to bring from Mecca.

I will not complain of any body; if I do, it shall be of myself. Take care of the letters I send thee, and let me know whether we may hope well from the Grand Signior, and what is reported at the court where thou art, and if there be any likelihood of making war afresh against the infidels.

My health is indifferent. I live here without suspicion; and though Cardinal Richlieu be an Argus, he is blind as to what concerns me; for he knows nothing of my business, or feigns so at least; neither do I do or

say any thing which may make me suspected for an enemy.

I assure thee I love God, have a great respect for his law, and follow my business with great fidelity. If thou wilt have me do more, advertise thy friend of it, whom thou knowest; show me the example, and live happily.

Paris, 22d of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1641.

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IX.—*To BERBER MUSTAPHA, Aga at Constantinople.*

WE have arrived to the end of the year, which the infidels solemnize by bonfires, and which I mark by an extraordinary sadness. I complain not, in that Time making itself the master of my heart, will soon begin to weaken it. I understand the folly of those vows which are made to Heaven for the obtaining of a long life.—Those that desire it are wont to make contrary ones, when they become overwhelmed with the infirmities which attend for the most part old age. The occasion of my complaints is of another nature; I am troubled at the being so far from my friends and country, and at my being banished into an enemy's country, where I must live like a man that is in continual fear, among people who seem to matter nothing.

Thou art now above fifty years of age, and I not above two and-thirty; and yet I know thou reflectest not much thereupon, thinking thou hast still a long time to live. Thou art of a strong constitution, art a lover of pleasures, searching them every where without any thoughts of death, who will spare thee no more than others whose health is decayed; for “he comes, taking great strides towards us all.” Thou art very fortunate, I must needs say, in conserving in a body so near old age, a young

man's spirit ; which is far from my disposition ; for when thou art in pursuit of divertisements, I am continually thinking of death ; because I believe I have lived too long.

Should the king, or cardinal, near whom I live, know this night, that Mahmut who writes to thee is one of the Grand Signior's spies, I should lose my life, perhaps before the next light : Yet the fear of such an adventure gives me no disquiet, having entirely sacrificed myself to the master I serve, who commands all men on the earth. Should these barbarians put me to death, I shall only finish a little sooner that course which I must certainly one day put an end to ; and if I live, I shall have neither recompense to expect, nor pain to apprehend.

Here is much talk about the Duke of Lorrain ; yet there has been more done against him than said. The French affirm, that in stripping this prince of his countries, he has been very mercifully dealt with ; for justice required more. There are, on the contrary, other people who do not believe it is possible to do a greater piece of injustice. In fine, every man speaks after his manner.

It is said, moreover, that this sovereign being come again into the king's favour, who had given him a thousand testimonies of good will, after what had passed in 1634, when this court had great reasons to complain of his conduct, he drew down again afresh the indignation of France upon him, by a fault which cannot be excused. I think this duke had concluded two treaties that year, promising a submission and eternal obedience. He had the honour to dine with the king ; and having rendered him homage for the dutchy of Bar, he again threw himself into the arms of the Austrians ; although he had sworn on the gospels (a book as much respected amongst the Christians, as the Alcoran is among the true faithful),

that he would never forsake the interests of France, what wars soever she might find; that he would be perpetually fixed to the interests of that crown; and never hold any correspondence with the House of Austria. In consideration of which, Lewis should re-establish this prince in his estates, which he was to surrender entirely, bating some places, and the capital, called Nanci, which he would retain during the war, as a pledge for the performance of what he had sworn to; and which yet was to be given up, after the conclusion of the peace. It is added, that this sovereign having occasion to complain of the Spanish ministers, and the grandees of this nation, who carry on the war in Flanders, he had written to the Cardinal Infant, governor of the Low Countries, a letter to this purpose, and very near in these words:

“The King of France having required me to join myself with my troops to his army near Sedan, I would not obey this puissant king, much less your highness, seeing the towns subject to the Spaniards treat me as if I were an enemy.”

The ladies have had a great part in this accommodation of the Duke of Lorraine; which has had, like all the works of women, a direful event. This prince, being become amorous of a French lady, was for repudiating his lawful princess, to whom he owes all his estate; beginning to separate from her, that he might give himself entirely to the Countess of Cantecroix, whom he used as his real wife.

Good people are sorry for this prince's disgrace, as believing his condition to be past remedy. The devout part say, that having been unjustly deprived of his estates, God will work miracles in his favour; considering no less than three hundred saints, as they say, have been of his family, which must needs reconcile him to



the favour of Heaven; amongst which is the famous Godfrey of Bullen, who won Jerusalem and all Palestine from the Saracens; whom we must own to have been a great man, whether we consider his courage or zeal for his religion, which ought to make his memory famous to all ages.

I can tell thee nothing more certain on this subject, having endeavoured to be informed of what I write to thee to satisfy thy curiosity; and whatever I now recite, has past in France with little noise, or rather with great silence as to me; for indeed I must with shame confess, that I have scarce heard in Paris this event, so famous throughout all Europe.

Man has nothing but what comes from Heaven, and commonly the strongest, when he has right on his side, subdues the weak, and enriches himself with his spoils.

By the law of nature, every one has right of judging his own necessities, and the greatness of the danger wherein he finds himself; and if it be contrary to reason I should be judge of my own danger, it is reasonable another should be so. But the same reason which establishes another judge of what concerns me, has made me his judge; and consequently gives me authority to judge of the sentence which he shall give against me, and to decide whether it be just when it is favourable to me, or unjust, if it be contrary to my interests.

Nature has given all to men; and thou and I, and all men, have an equal right to all things; hence we have power to do whatever we will, to possess and enjoy what we think is fitting; and yet such an extensive right is just as if we had right to nothing; for at the same time I have right to a thing which pleases me, another stronger than myself, by virtue of the same right, takes it from me, and enjoys it in spite of me. Hence it is,

that one man invades another with the same right with which he defends himself; whence do, and will spring up always, the occasions of jealousies and discords which are among men, which make them at continual defiance with one another, and keeps them in a continual watchfulness over their neighbours.

It is this liberty founded in nature which makes it lawful in time of war to resist and invade, not only by open force, but with all the secret arts and stratagems that can be devised; and when a man would avoid the danger he is in in fighting, and has his enemy in his hands, he has a right to use all means to avoid him, and secure himself from him.

Thou wilt approve of these reflections, which show thee the natural right thou hast of commanding me, as being thy inferior; and I hope, by what I have written, to have satisfied thy curiosity; and by my submission and obedience, to have given thee a proof of my profound respects to thee.

Paris, 7th of the last Moon, of the Year 1641.

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X.—*To BEDREDIN, Superior of the Dervises of Cogny, in Natolia.*

LET me, most holy and patient dervise, salute thee with my head bowed down to the ground, with the greatest humility I am able. I now write to thee with my feet naked, without either hose or shoes, as a mark of my respect and veneration which I have for thy old age, and the admiration I have at thy incorruptible innocence.

The kindness thou shoudest me by the long letter I have received, has given me such joy as I cannot express, as makes me forget my past pains, and hinders me from

thinking of those which are to happen to me ; for I can now willingly leave this world, having had such testimonies of thy affection. Thy great age does not astonish me, seeing thy father, who is yet alive, is one hundred and seven years old, and thou not above eighty-two ; which makes me hope to see a great while yet, both one and the other, draw down by their prayers, and merit of their good actions, the blessings of Heaven on the glorious empire of the Ottomans, to whom all the empires and monarchies of the world ought to submit.—The thirty brethren who presented themselves to Selim, to be enrolled in the troops which were to serve against the Persians, made the father, who had them all by one woman, to pass for the happiest of all the mussulmans, in having the good fortune to beget such a number of the most noble species in nature. But thou and thy father must needs be more happy than this fertile parent. Thy father has fought and come out victorious from the perversity of the age, full of scars and sufferings, through the force of his courage, the innocency of his manners, and his great sobriety ; and as to thy part, what hast not thou done to make thyself the worthy son of so glorious a father ? Thou hast not only done what thy father did before thee ; thou hast acquired the same virtues, and hast so far outdone them, that one may say, thou hast surpassed virtue itself. Thy strength is admirable in the midst of abstinencies, and other austerities which thou undergoest ; in which it is certain thou canst not be imitated. But Heaven, to whom only thou livest, will recompense in this world thy pure faith, which the enemy of mankind can never weaken.

The Christians say, when God gave them the commandments, he promised long life to such only who perfectly honoured those, who, under God, brought them

into the light. If this be true, as it is very likely, it is not to be doubted but that a long life is the recompense which God gives those who live well: And the Nazarenes, who are critics, affirm, that sin alone is the cause that men do not live so long as they did before the deluge, for then they remained such a while in life, as would tempt one to think they were to have been immortal. They say, that after the deluge, God changed the nature of men; and instead of that great number of years, which made up the course of so long a life, they cannot live at farthest above one hundred and twenty years, and that there are few which arrive to eighty; and whatever is beyond this is misery and torment, or a kind of senselessness which makes men like beasts.

I know few people but what are agreed, one may cure or mitigate the inconveniencies which happen to us; but few are of opinion that life can be lengthened; yet, if this be possible, we may then believe a story which is believed here, and which happened the year past in Paris.

An ancient man went to a dervise of this great town, and thus accosted him, "I am come, reverend Father, to know of you, whether I may in good conscience determine to live no longer, being quite weary of living; I have already arrived to the one hundred and twenty-ninth year of my age, by means of a liquor which chemistry has taught me, whereby I did scarce perceive from any thing I felt that I was going down; yet, however, this long life appears at present to me irksome and intolerable.—My blood is so purified in my veins, that I have remained without any of those passions whereunto mankind are generally subject. My taste serves me no longer to discover the delicacy of meats. My ears, although they be not deaf, yet will not let me distinguish true harmony from what is only a confusion of sounds. Mine eyes

are open to see, but are not cleared with any object.— My faculty of smelling is struck with scents, yet they make no impression on it. I touch, but I feel not what I touch ; and I touch all things indifferently. Mine heart is no longer sensible, nor affected with tenderness and passion for my friends. Bile in me has no longer its usual heat. Joy and sorrow, anger, desire of having, hope and hatred, are extinguished in me ; whereby I am become insensible in conserving, if I may so say, all my senses. I am resolved therefore to let myself die, provided you can assure me I may do it without sin ; for should I remain two days without taking this precious elixir, I am certain I shall soon expire, and so be delivered from the vexation which overwhelms me.” It is said that the dervise answered this philosopher, “ That he might not desire death, but, on the contrary, preserve his life ; and supposing he made use of no secret of magic to prolong his days, he should believe that the marvellous potion, of which he had found the secret by his study and travel, was a present from Heaven : That it is true, he would be rid of a troublesome life, but he could not procure the end of it without a crime ; and that he was obliged to preserve it, to suffer with greater submission the pains he complained of, which could not be comparable to the pleasures he had received, by enjoying the gift which God had bestowed on him.”

The Great God preserve thy days beyond those of this philosopher, and accompany them with whatever may give thee satisfaction: But I beseech him, above all things, that he may never let slip out of thy memory the promise thou hast made me, of having always a particular respect to thy servant Mahmut, who reverences thy holiness.

Paris, 15th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1642.



XI.—*To the Redoubtable VISIER AZEM.*

I MAKE thee an answer, invincible warrior, by whose counsels the formidable empire of the Ottomans is governed under the orders of the most mighty of the princes of the earth, and whose arm is terrible to all the potentates of the world. I have read thy letter, wherewith thou honoured the most submissive of thy slaves, with all the humility which is due to thy sublime grandeur, whereunto thy merit has raised thee. And having cast myself at thy feet in spirit, seeing I cannot really kiss them, I obey the orders thou sendest me, which are to me inviolable laws.

Banniere, the Swedish general, is dead. When Piccolomini, one of the generals of the emperor's army, lay just by him; in half an hour's time he saved himself, the army, all the baggage and cannon, and retired with incredible swiftness over mountains and forests, where the beasts alone could make passages, having continually the Emperor's army at his back. He was a man of great valour, had been highly serviceable to the crown of Swedeland, and acquired the reputation of an excellent commander. The emperor had offered him some time before great recompenses, and the dignity of a prince of the empire, if he would change his master, and forsake the confederates party. He had also offered, thinking this might more move him, to make him general of his army against the Grand Signior; but he refused all these offers, his fidelity being unmoveable.

This great captain was born in Swedeland, and when a child, he fell down from a high window, without receiving any hurt, which made the king imagine Heaven designed him for something extraordinary. He travelled much in his youth, and he was seen never tired in run-

ning to all places where there was any war; sometimes in Poland, and other whiles in Muscovia; and being become general of his king's army, he soon acquired the reputation of one of the greatest captains of the northern parts. He was perfectly skilled in the art of encamping, and no body could ever better draw up an army for battle. His way of retreat from before an army stronger than his, must needs be admired by all the world. He ever chose good posts; and when once he was possessed of them, he knew well how to keep them; so that he was never defeated, whatever forces his enemy might bring against him. He has destroyed fourscore thousand men in different rencounters, and Swedeland glories in having above six hundred standards. He was so like King Gustavus, that they have been often taken for one another. He was never covetous, but was observed to be a good husband. Among so many occasions wherein he signalized himself, what he did when the Swedish army was worsted at Norlinge, is most remarkable; he preserved the rest, though wholly forsaken by the allies; and so ordered the matter, that he raised fresh troops almost in an instant, and gave his party time and courage to rise up. And this is all I could learn of this great captain, whose reputation has given thee this curiosity.

Although Don Duarte de Braganza, the new King of Portugal's brother, served with great reputation in the emperor's army; yet it is said, the Spaniards had been very urgent with this monarch, to make him be apprehended, as soon as ever they heard the king his brother was raised to the throne. But, it is said, the emperor was scandalized with such a proposition, alleging this would be against the rules of hospitality. But the empress's confessor found such reasons in his divinity, as brought over the emperor to yield he should be delivered

into the Spanish minister's hands, who conducted him with a very strong party to the castle of Milan, whence he is not like to stir out till his brother shall restore the crown of Portugal to Philip IV. of Spain.

I shall write what remains behind to the Kaimacham, who has the honour of being thy lieutenant ; that I may not tire thee, who art to be revered as the instrument of the will of the master of lights, and all whose hours are destined to the government of the world.

May it please him, who of nothing has created all things, that thou mayest lay, one day, at the feet of the Grand Signior, the crowns of all the monarchs, who command in the infidels countries, and become thereby the arbiter of the universe.

Paris, 18th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1642.

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## XII.—*To the KAIMACHAM, at Constantinople.*

THIS king here has mortified his parliament, by the advice of Cardinal Richlieu. The parliaments are bodies of learned men, who decide all affairs in the kingdom, as well civil as criminal ; and the parliament of Paris has a larger jurisdiction than all others, and as considerable prerogatives. What I have to say on this subject, has happened from the beginning of the last year ; and now I relate it, because I forgot to do it when the thing happened : And I will inform thee, before I enter on the matter, what obliged heretofore the kings of France to set up this great seat of justice.

The ancient kings of France gave it authority of approving and verifying the edicts and declarations which they should make, which was a bar which these wise princes would fix between the people and the sovereign

authority. Whence it appeared, that monarchy was mixed with aristocracy; without which the wise have thought, that states could not long subsist; and the princes of this age have submitted to a tribunal re-established by themselves, the resolutions they take, to the end they may discharge themselves towards God, to whom they are accountable, as well as other men, and to obtain confidence from their subjects, in taking from amongst them arbiters to regulate them. Yet they have ever reserved the liberty of making use of their absolute power, as is seen in their letters patent, where they forget not to insert these words, "For such is our will and pleasure."

These monarchs also thought hereby to have found out a way to defend themselves from the importunities of the grandees, who often demanded such things which could not be granted without prejudice to the whole kingdom.

The authority of the now reigning king being out of danger of being shaken or destroyed, this monarch having his exchequer well stored, his valiant and experienced captains, stout soldiers, and numerous armies, and good fleets of ships at sea; whereby he would make known to this puissant tribunal, that if it had been set up to assist the kings by its counsels when required, yet it must not pretend that its decrees should become laws to their sovereigns. He went to the parliament with all the marks of grandeur with which he is usually attended on these days of ceremony, and with such a great company of lords as made the power of this monarch easily discerned. He gave these gentlemen to understand, he would have them ratify, without more ado, the orders he would send them, which they term edicts, requiring them to be immediately enregistered. He afterwards gave them an express charge, not to concern themselves henceforward

in affairs of state ; and to humble them the more, he declared to them, that he would be henceforward the disposer of graces and offices, and bestow recompenses to such as deserved them. He added hereunto an order of giving an account every year to his chancellor of their deportments, and to come and receive every year his majesty's approbation to continue them in their offices ; and, as a mark of his indignation and authority, he put by the president and some counsellors from their places.

This bold and politic action was done (as I may say) in the midst of dancings and divertisements, the more to denote the monarch's authority, and in the time of such magnificent feasting as became the pomp of the greatest emperors, in the palace of the cardinal, for the marriage of his niece, Mademoiselle de Breze, with the prince of Conde's eldest son, called the Duke d'Anguien ; a prince from whom the world expects great things, and whom all France believes will prove one of the famousst princes in Christendom.

The Catalonians are obstinate in their revolt ; their deputies have been already seen in this court, to entreat a good-supply from this king ; and it is not to be doubted but they will earnestly sue for his protection : And France has already sent troops near those parts, and its fleets appear on the coasts to encourage this nation and mortify the Spaniards. There are a great many troops raised here ; and this monarch will have in the spring eight armies, commanded by generals of great valour and experience, besides these two fleets ; so that Germany, Lorrain, the Low Countries, Catalonia, and Italy, are like to be exposed to the miseries of an impoverishing war. Only Germany seems to be able to defend itself.

The vast genius of the French minister astonishes all



the princes of Europe ; he breaks all their measures, and makes a secret war against them in their own courts. Nothing can escape his vigilant care ; he keeps his own secrets so strictly, that his nearest friends cannot discover them. His power and authority are so great, that the princes of the blood are nothing in comparison of him ; and his fame makes him as much respected abroad as at home.

His friends affirm, he is ignorant of nothing which is projected in Europe. England is the place which he has last attacked, its civil wars owing their original to his designs.

I pray Heaven favour thy just pretensions, and every day increase thy heroic virtues.

Paris, 15th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1642.

XIII.—*To the Most Excellent and Most Venerable MUFTI, Sovereign Prelate of the Holy Religion of the Faithful Mussulmans.*

He of whom I wrote so many particulars, some moons ago, to obey, as I ought, the express command thou laidest upon me, not only is still living, but is more absolute than ever, in what concerns his ministry. Yet is it false that this cardinal finding nothing more (as thou writest to me, it is talked of in Constantinople) to satisfy his ambition (which puts him still upon desiring something farther, being become the absolute master of what depends on the kingdom of Lewis XIII.), had designs of making himself absolute master of what concerns religion. But he was too knowing a man, to design the being the superior general of all the French derivatives ; a thing which neither the King of France nor

the pope would permit. I rather think this minister's design has been to subject all the Christian princes to his master's interests.

The Ottoman empire would have some reason to be afraid, were all the Roman prelates wise enough to choose this man for their pope. We should see in a short time all Asia agitated by his intrigues against the followers of the great Mahomet; and those that follow Ali would not enjoy a much greater security. Thou knowest that the greatest marks which the popes can give of their piety during their pontificate, is to stir up wars, and make leagues against us to overthrow our empire. Think then what this great man would do, were he the head of the Christians, with those abilities, and great intelligences which he every where keeps; seeing, that being only a subject, and minister of one prince, he so governs himself, that there is no nation, how far soever distant, but holds its eyes open on his conduct; and a pope being always chosen from amongst the cardinals, and the pope now reigning being very old, it may happen that this dangerous man shall be chosen.

Thou, then, whose pure life makes us believe thou art a saint, pray the Great God to hinder such an event, which will, without question, disturb the empire of him whom he has chosen to humble all other potentates, and show on earth the greatness of his power; and, rather than such a misfortune should befall us, pray him that has created all things that this man's eyes be opened to know and embrace the true faith; for it were better (if I may so say without displeasing thee) that this cardinal should be a bad mufti at Constantinople than a good pope at Rome, at the head of all the Nazarenes.

It is said that a foreign king consulted this oracle (for he is held in as great veneration as if he was one),

what conduct he should hold to live securely : and it is said the cardinal made this answer, “ That kings should live in fear, and then they would live in safety ; it being certain they would receive no poison from the hands of those who do not present them their drink, no more than they can receive wounds from those whom they keep at a great distance from them. Those who will not flatter them will not deceive them ; and where they shall think themselves in greatest safety, that will always be the place of greatest danger.”

I am persuaded, grave and wise prelate, thou wilt approve of the answer of this minister. Julius Cæsar lived in the midst of combats, but died in the midst of the senate.

Next, after God, it is before thee, great minister of Heaven ! that I humble myself, entreating thee to receive graciously the profound respects of thy slave Mahmut.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1642.

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#### XIV.—*To his Mother OUCOUMICHE, at Constantinople.*

IT may be said I have escaped from a mortal sickness, and remain in life only to hear the complaints of my friends, who recite to me their misfortunes ; and of my kindred, who entertain me with the losses they have sustained. Thou addest, my dear mother, a new torment to the pains I already suffer, by shedding so many fruitless tears. Oh ! how cruel is my country, that gives so many occasions of affliction to those to whom she has given their birth ! Thou hast lost the greatest part of thine estate in the fire of Constantinople, and death

has deprived thee of thy second husband. I was but a child when my father died, so that I could not then judge of thy grief; neither was I sensible of my own loss. Now that I am a man, I enter into thy sentiments, I share in thy grief; and shall do all I can to comfort thee.

Thou hast lost thy first and second husband, and thou hast reason to afflict thyself. If the first was an honest man, it is certain the other loved thee extremely; and the charms of thy countenance have not a little served thee to acquire the affection of these two husbands, which thou knewest how to keep by thy complacencies and blind obedience to their wills; and by such a prudent carriage as, one may say, thou wouldst force them to love thee, hadst thou not done it by the charms of thy beauty.

But what shall we do in this thy extreme affliction, and in the troublesome condition I am for the grief thou endurest, which mingles my ink with my tears? Yet we must endeavour to be comforted with a firm resolution not to afflict ourselves but at the loss of such things which will never be in our power to recover; thou at the loss of the reputation which thou hast acquired of a virtuous woman, and I at that of an honest man.

When my father died, it was not all the philosophy nor eloquence of the Greeks which could comfort thee; thy affliction was stronger than all their reasons; and when these officious comforters had forsaken thee, thou soughtest ease to thy trouble in a new spouse. Him now thou hast lost, but now thou art still in a condition from hindering this loss from being irreparable. Thy virtue has never been questioned, and thou art not as yet so old, but thou mayst think of another husband. Seek

a third, which may make thee forget thy sorrow for the second ; and if thou findest him not immediately, or if thou hadst some trouble in seeking a like comfort to thy affliction, receive in this letter the tears of another mother, which will show thee there is a woman of a far higher condition that is more afflicted than thou art.

Paris is still full of the cries and sighs which come from a princess of the first rank. She has now lost a great prince, her son, who is slain in a battle which he had won by a strong army of which he was general. Read in my letter the lively and tender expressions of the grief of this illustrious mother, which draws compassion from his enemies, who are forced by the rules of civility to make her visits. Thus does she speak every day and hour to persons who come to visit her ; and, when there is no body, she thus speaks to herself.

This unfortunate woman is not a moment without sighing ; and one would think by her language she intended to recal the soul which has quitted the body of her son, the unhappy Count of Soissons : “ Poor Count, a son so tenderly loved, and so greatly deserved it, where is thy body now to be found, dyed in blood and in that of thy enemies ? What victory ? Where are those glorious marks that should give me so great joy, and which give me such cause of despair ? Why did I bring thee forth into the world, unfortunate son, if I must so soon lose thee ? Miserable mother, unhappy son ! How art thou a conqueror when I see no other trophy of thy victory than thy death ! I hear from all parts, that the Count is victorious, and yet I hear everywhere that his enemies rejoice. I see, dear son, all thy domestics that followed thee, return without wounds, and yet I do not see their master. None of them can tell me where he is, and in what place their general lies, who fought with so great



valour and success to his party ; but they are all agreed the battle was won, that my son is a conqueror, and that he has lost his life. Unfortunate fight, which has made equally bewailed, the death of the victorious general by his mother, and the defeat by the vanquished ! Would to God thou hadst been vanquished, thou mightst have lived. I should not have been in this condition of following thee. It would have been no shame to have been defeated, it would have been only a misfortune which would have been common to thee with Pompey and Hannibal, to whom antiquity had nothing to impute, but their ill fortune. A sincere reconciliation, a pardon, or a peace, might make all that is past forgotten. A voluntary exile might have appeased the king's anger, and perhaps disarmed the cardinal ; my son might have lived, France would not have been troubled, a mother would not have been at this day comfortless, and the Count's enemies would not have rejoiced at his loss. But, to my grief, nothing of this has happened. Alas ! the stay of an illustrious family is dead : Unhappy mother ! how are all thy hopes vanished ? But, good God, how was this my dear son taken out of the world ? I know but too well that his enemies laid continually snares for him. Methinks I see my son's murderers give him the deadly stroke in the heat of the fight, and in the instant he was going to enjoy his victory. Ah, my dear son ! Ah, unfortunate mother ! Why did I not breathe out my last on the dead body of this son, so worthy the esteem of all the world, and whom I so dearly loved ? Why didst not thou, too powerful minister, give me the mortal blow, rather than let me see so sad a tragedy ? Do you kill me that hear me ; or thou, my son, give me thy hand, to descend into the grave where thou art to be buried.

“ But my reason fails me ; I must, for my son's ho-

nour, stifle these motions of weakness. It is true, he lives no longer ; but he died in the bed of honour, with his sword in his hand ; he died full of glory ; he died victorious ; and, even in dying, vanquished his enemies.

“ Let us cease from shedding tears. But what do I say ? he died assassinated, a victim sacrificed to the vengeance of his enemies by the blackest treason it is clear ; and yet I would live : No, I must die ; let us imitate the greatness and courage of those illustrious women, who threw themselves on the pile whereon their husbands were burnt : My son is more dear to me ; let us then die, and weep no more : these tears are fruitless ; but let us live, seeing Heaven ordains it, and let us live to die every day : I shall have ever present before my eyes the death of my son ; I shall see every day his bloody body ; I shall continually remember his respect, his tenderness for me, and I shall never forget the tender and violent passion which I had for this son, for whom alone I lived : But at least, cruel cardinal, restore me his dead body. Thou hast thy revenge, he is no longer alive ; give this sad consolation to a desolate mother, perhaps this sight will work the effect thou desirest, cruel wretch as thou art ; it will unite my soul to that of my son.”

Dear mother, if thou canst not comfort thyself by so great an example of misfortune as this princess, it will be hard for thy son to say any thing which can diminish thy grief. Imitate this illustrious woman, who having suffered whatever sorrow and despair can do to a mother who loves vehemently, and with reason, suffers herself to be persuaded not to give an entire victory to her enemies, who triumph still over her son, by the grief which they see his death has caused. She has been ruled by the advice of her friends, and received great comfort from

a letter sent her by the king, written with his own hands :

“ Cousin, the grief which you show at your late loss obliges me to testify the share which I have in it, and the displeasure I conceive at the fault of him which has caused it : and though I ought not to be sorry, by reason of the conjuncture wherein it has happened, yet I must heartily condole with you, and contribute what I am able to your consolation.”

I can say nothing more to thee, my most honoured mother, unless it be, that thou shalt always have in me a most obedient son ; and if thou takest a third husband, thou wilt be perhaps less unfortunate ; but please thyself.

The Great God, who has created all things, and provides for their necessities by his infinite goodness, comfort and fill thee with his blessings.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1642.

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#### XV.—*To the Grand Signior's Treasurer.*

THE priest which played the tarpaulin, whom the French call the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, of whom I believe I have given thee some account the 10th Moon of the Year 1637, has lost the credit which he had with the king, and is at present disgraced. The opinion of his valour at court is much lessened, by his not hindering, with the fleet he commanded, the Spaniards from putting succours into Tarragone, a famous sea-port near Barcelona. They lost the last year twelve galleys in fight against the French naval forces ; but having fitted a mightier fleet, they have put into this place the succours they

intended. The archbishop could not, or would not, hinder them, which will be the cause that this place will not come so soon under the power of the French.

It is said that this prelate was banished France, and was retired into a city situated on the Rhosne, named Avignon, and belongs to the Roman prelate.

It being a thing very usual to run down the unfortunate, all the world blames this prelate, having not always met with equal success on the sea in the employs he sought, and which did not at all agree with his function of archbishop ; which he might have performed with applause, in imitating his predecessor, who was his brother, the Cardinal de Sourdis, and who had left him a diocese well regulated, rich, furnished with great store of churches well served, pastors of great piety and learning, whom this man had procured and settled in his diocese with great care ; which made his death extremely lamented.

The Catalonians are at length become this king's subjects ; they maintain their revolt with the French forces, and strengthen themselves after the example of the Portugueses. They fight with such courage, that they come off continually conquerors : but I shall make no relation of their fights, nor of the blood which is spilt on either side, which are matters I do not care to treat of.

God give thee a continual tranquillity of mind, make thee in love with peace, and preserve in thee that vigilant spirit, so necessary for the keeping the treasure entrusted to thee.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1642.

XVI.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE cardinal favourite of France has such long hands, that he makes seizures in those places which are not subject to his jurisdiction: and, when he has made them, he keeps them without any thoughts of restoring them. There is no probability at present that this bold politician will lay hands on what belongs to the Grand Signior; however, I have some reason to write this.

There has been carried, some days since, an illustrious prisoner into the castle of the Wood of Vincennes, and thou shalt hear this new way of apprehending a great man in another's house, and in the court of a foreign sovereign, who is absolute in his own estates. This prisoner was apprehended in the midst of the finest ladies in the Court of Turin, at a magnificent ball which the dutchess-regent of this estate gave in her palace. It was this princess whom I mentioned to thee, who was widow to Victor Amadæus, Duke of Savoy, and sister to the king which now so happily reigns over the French.

The dutchess, who had a particular consideration for this prisoner, could not behold this exploit of the cardinal's without extreme vexation; his name is, if I be not mistaken, Count Philip d'Aglié, a person of great quality, and whose excellent parts and courage do yet render him more illustrious than his birth.

It is not yet known why the cardinal undertook such a bold stroke, though it is said the council of France has had great reasons to secure the person of this favourite. The chief motive they say was, that he was carrying on some designs against the interests of this crown with the Cardinal of Savoy, whom it is thought



he would have married to the widow of Amadæus his brother.

Richlieu attempted not to carry off Count Philip till having made several trials to remove him from the Court of Turin, under the pretence of some embassy to which he would never consent; so that his obstinacy cost him his liberty.

The dutchess greatly complains and reproaches the king her brother with the violation of the right of nations and sovereignty; but only her own court are sensible to these complaints, they being not heard in that of France; and her ambassador has been seen there in a suppliant posture, humbly suing for the count's liberty; or that he might be sent on an embassy to Rome; or at leastwise, that in leaving the castle of Vincennes, he might be imprisoned somewhere in Paris.

The cardinal answered the supplications of the ambassador of Savoy, that the king his master did not apprehend Philip and bring him into France, but out of regard to the interests of his sister of Savoy; and that she might be assured that for her sake he should be well used.

Thou mayst see by this answer a great haughtiness and frivolous reasonings, which sufficiently denote that this great minister does not love to be contradicted or opposed in the resolution he takes; and if an account of what is done in the world must be given to any one man alone, he would take it very ill if it were to any body but himself.

I shall not fail to send thee the books thou requirest, and inform thee the best I can of the false or true Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, whom his subjects do believe to be still alive, when I have made sufficient inquiries into the truth of the matter. I kiss with a profound

humility the hem of thy rich vest, on which I fasten the lips of a respectful and obedient slave.

Paris, 21st of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1642.

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XVII.—*To the REIS EFFENDI, Secretary of the Empire.*

THERE was found last night a man dead in the streets of Paris, who seems not to be above thirty years old ; he is a Spaniard, and had about him a letter or memoir, which it seems he had written to some confidant at Madrid, in these terms :

“ Cardinal Richlien told me he did not know the hand nor signature of Count Olivarez’s secretary ; and that when he should fill up his signed blank, which I presented him, and let fall the pretended letter of the secretary into the King of Spain’s hands, he saw not what advantage could result hence to the King of France his master. I am very willing, added he, that the King of Spain should suspect the count or secretary of infidelity, and of having some commerce with me ; but it would not be advantageous to us he should be plainly convinced of it, seeing the greatest happiness France could have is, that Count Olivarez’s ministry should be perpetual ; for being the most unhappy of all the favourites that have ever been in the place he possesses, all good Frenchmen are obliged to pray to God to give him a long life, and to continue him ever in the king his master’s favour, to perpetuate by his counsels the disgraces of Spain.”

He pursued his point of raillery in this manner :

“ Of a Duke of Braganza, Olivarez has made a King of Portugal ; of a King of France, a Count of Barcelona ; of a sovereign Duke of Lorrain, a vassal ; of a prince

cardinal, a knight-errant ; of a Lord of Monacho, a duke and peer of France ; and, in fine, of Philip IV. King of Spain, he has made a Count Duke de Olivarez."

This is all I could get from so great and illustrious a genius.

The just God, who has sent us his prophet, ever direct thy actions, that thou mayest enjoy an happy eternity, and give thee opportunities of doing good.

Paris, 24th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1642.

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XVIII.—*To WILLIAM VOSPEL, a Christian of Austria.*

GOD be praised, thy patriarch Elias, and his companion ; forasmuch as I see thou art a saint, and content in the religion of the barefooted friars, which thou hast embraced. Thou stirrest me up to do good, and encouragest me to suffer, and become serious enough to renounce the pleasures of the world, seeing thou tracest me a way so necessary to walk in, in order to arrive at Heaven. I did not believe, indeed I confess it, thou wert endued with that constancy, and was afraid thou wouldst change ; but seeing thou hast the courage of keeping thy resolution, and enduring all the incommodioufness which is to be met with in that kind of life which thou hast embraced ; I am sorry for my suspicions, and profess I have all due esteem for thee. I love thee as much as one honest man ought to love another, who having found out the true good, has run impetuously after it ; and who has past immediately from a soft and voluptuous life to the severities of an austere religion, in search of an assured port, which is more usually found in sufferings and macerations, than in delights and pleasures. There is one thing amongst others which extremely pleases me in

the order thou hast entered ; all things are in common amongst you ; one key opens an hundred doors ; you have no *Meum et Tuum* ; all clad in the same fashion, and all go barefooted ; you eat at the same table, and no body has better or worse fare than another. In fine, your prayers are the same, and so are your vows of poverty.

But prithee tell me, what would a thief have found in thy cell, whom I saw yesterday hanged with a key about his neck ? He had the dexterity of opening with his key all sorts of locks, and has done a thousand roguish exploits, which have at length brought him to the gallows. He told the people he died a most happy man, as having practised with great success an art inferior to none : that the only crime he thought he had been guilty of for these thirty years was his committing but small thefts ; that had he found the doors always open he had never entered into any house ; and he exhorted magistrates to chastise only those who suffered themselves to be robbed.

Spanish authors have written, there is no law which allots penalties to those that rob with prudence and ingenuity. Thus, say they, do all those who steal wherewithal to appease the envious who would accuse them, the witnesses which might serve to convict them, and the magistrates by whom they are to be judged ; so that the thief that shall have stolen for himself, and for all others I now mentioned, shall be ever sent away absolved ; which makes me think that theft is of the nature of women, for both one and the other seem at this day to be necessary evils, just as keys seem only good now-a-days to preserve what may be stolen, and not to hinder it from being so.

How many things has the injustice of some people au-

thorised for the safeguard of a town? It is not enough to have a strong garrison of soldiers; three elements are not sufficient to defend it against a greater power that would oppress it. The earth is raised to make thereof trenches; the deepest ditches are dried up, whatever quantity of water may be in them, and fire is enclosed in cannons, the effects of which are terrible. If thou surveyest Italy, thou wilt find, in several towns, palaces which have more gates than Thebes had heretofore; and if thou countest the keys which serve to open them, thou wilt find the iron they are made of to cost more than the doors themselves.

Men are not contented to use these Keys according to the common use they seem to be designed for; their ambition makes them serve for marks of honour in several princes courts, where they be recompenses for services, for virtue and valour. The golden key in Spain, which the great lords wear, denotes, that they know how to open the gate of favour. And it is the same in Germany, and especially in the emperor's court.

Happy was ancient Rome, whose citizens were so wise, that being advised to turn the front of their houses on that side where they could not be observed by their neighbours, they answered the architect, "We rather desire our houses may be overlooked into, because we do nothing wherein we fear a surprise." Whereas modern Rome, on the contrary, may be termed unhappy, wherein there are not enough gates, and porters of them, to conceal what is done in the most retired places of their palaces.

It is in this city where luxury grew to that height under the first emperors, that all mens studies were to find out new pleasures.

But I must end this discourse of keys, of doors, and



door-keepers ; I must not expect to reform the world, nor would I weary thy patience. Pardon me my passing from the cell to the story of the thief whom I saw executed, and from the thief to a discourse of keys, and other things with which I have entertained thee. I was so full of it that I could not forbear the discourse, no more than I can now to speak of the subtilty of the Spaniards, who have vaunted of the worth of their Escorial, by the great number of the keys which belong to it ; like that foolish emperor who valued the greatness of Rome by the great weight of spiders webs which were there. The Spaniards affirm, there are so many doors to this stately edifice, that the keys which serve to open them weigh above ten thousand weight.

But it is time to end this tiresome letter. Let me then counsel thee to watch over thy conscience as the Parisians do over their shops, to prevent violences. Here are so many great and small thieves, that should they be punished as they were chastised in Syria, where the same punishment is imposed on him that is robbed as he that robs, this great town would be soon unpeopled, or become a prison to an infinite number of people who would be found faulty.

May it please the great God, who should be adored by all creatures, to incline the great Prelate (after thou art delivered from the burden of the flesh), to place thee amongst the number of those for whom the church has a pious veneration, and respect thy ashes in such a manner as I hope thy holy and exemplary life will deserve.

Paris, 24th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1642.

XIX.—*To the Venerable MUFTI.*

THOU wilt not think me troublesome, if thou rememberest the order thou hast given me, and I ought rather to hazard the tiring of thee by frequent letters, than be accused of neglect for not obeying thee. Obedience must needs be agreeable where the command is made with wisdom. When I write to the Grand Visier, it is in trembling; and if I write to the Kaimacham, I am not without hope; and I send no letter to the other bassas without inquietude and great trouble. As to what concerns my friends, I divert myself in writing to them.—But when it is to thee I write, I may say it is, that I may hope, live, and obtain in the other world that happy state spoken of by our holy Prophet, that life which is to be the recompense of all those who shall perform good actions whilst they dwell among men.

Cardinal Richlieu would willingly be absolute in matters of religion as thou art; he would also be thought a saint, but he knows not how to be one; and indeed he would be every thing. However, he does abundance of things which thou dost not, and pretends to be above thee, because he does not live as thou dost. This man, whose head is full of the affairs of the world, concerns himself in whatever passes in Europe; one only employ cannot satisfy him; he is not contented with being the favourite of a great king, under whose authority he governs all things: Some time ago it was reported he would make himself a patriarch. He aspires extreme high, undertakes the most difficult matters, and takes a singular pleasure in making use of extraordinary means for the execution of his projects, that posterity and historians may write, that being come into the world with a small fortune, he died rich; and being born in the condi-

tion of a private man, he lived in the state of a great prince. Observe, venerable prince of that religion, which can alone be approved of by him who drew the world out of nothing, two remarkable strokes of this French Tiberius, which I have learned but lately.

The cardinal sent to Madrid *incognito* a general of certain dervises, a man of a fit genius to second his own, of a piercing and subtle wit, and very understanding in secular affairs; after having given him express order, that as soon as ever he should be in Spain, he should do such and such a thing, and that at his return into France, he should remit into his hands alone the memoirs of what he had transacted. This monk succeeded very well in the employ he undertook; but in his return the cardinal sent an express command to him, to deliver, before he entered into France, all his papers into the hands of a gentleman who brought him his letter. The dervise obeyed; but he was disgraced; and the cardinal maintained it was a crime to obey on this occasion; for having once received an order to entrust no body with these papers but himself, he could not be excused for delivering them to others; and for this reason he forbade him to set foot within the kingdom. This poor religious died some time after, desperate at this usage; and perhaps this is the first time a man has been punished for too punctual obedience.

It is not many moons since there came post a person of quality from Italy, who brought considerable news to the cardinal. It is impossible for me to express the caresses this favourite made him; and to denote his joy, he immediately presented him with a rich diamond, and made him hope for still greater recompenses; yet this same person that had brought this so good news was carried to the Bastille as soon as he came out of the cardinal's closet, where he remained for some moons without

seeing any body ; so that he imagined himself all that while in a dream ; but at length his prison doors were set open, and the cardinal would see him, and made him be given as many hundred crowns as he had past over days in his solitude. He accompanied this present he made him with all the civilities imaginable, and said these words to him, “ Thou art not to blame, and yet I could not but punish thee for my fault, when I made thee enter into my closet as soon as thou camest from Italy to bring me so advantageous news. The great desire I had to know the particulars of the business, made me forget to take off from my table a writing of great importance, which thou mightest have read entire ; which contained the revolt of Catalonia, the demands of this province, and the intrigues of France, which caused this insurrection ; and the knowledge of so important a mystery might make my prince lose the acquisition of so rich a province, so that I could not imagine a more safe and speedy remedy, than to shut thee up in a place where it was impossible for thee to make any use of the notices thou didst get by my imprudence. But things being at present in such a condition, wherein it is impossible France shall receive any prejudice, I restore thee thy liberty, and entreat thee to forget the severity which reasons of state have put me upon. Receive from my hands the present which the king my master makes thee ; and be pleased to reckon me amongst the number of thy particular friends.

I prostrate myself again at thy feet, holy Prelate, entreating thy benediction, and that thou wilt look on me as one of thy most obedient children, having such a respect to thy holiness as is due to the greatest minister of heaven that ever interpreted the holy Alcoran in the empire of the faithful.

I also entreat thy prayers, that God, having regard to the supplications which thou shalt offer him, would give me the grace to live honestly, and serve the sultan faithfully, and that I may die in the religion of my fathers.

Paris, 24th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1642.

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XX.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

THE books of the Arabian, Geber, are not to be found in that language which thou desirest them in; I have sought for them, I believe, in above two hundred book-sellers shops, and there is not one of them knows they were ever translated into the tongue in which thou wouldst have them.

It is now some time since these books have been common in France; and there are several persons who apply themselves to Dr. Geber's science; but there is no translation of them into any of the common languages of Europe. When I inquired for this book, the booksellers asked me several different questions, and especially, whether I sought for receipts to prolong life: Some there were who asked me grinning, whether my design was to fix some volatile deity? And others answered the question I made them on the book of the learned Geber, only by a silence, accompanied with some smiles; and at the same time putting into my hands a book, saying unto me, "Here is what you look for, this is what you want, Monsieur Abbot;" and this book treated of impossible things; of the quadrature of the circle in geometry; of the philosopher's stone in chemistry; of the perfection of the orator in rhetoric; of a republic, such a one as Plato would have in his politics; and of the perpetual motion in the mathematics.



I did not seem to be much moved at these merchants dealings with me ; but I found a very honest capuchin, who put me in hopes of recovering the Geber thou seek-est, for he assured me he saw it in Chaldee, or in the Egyptian language, in a learned man's library, without giving me any encouragement to think it may be purchased, because he that possesses it is not needy of money.

Thou wilt not, perhaps, be displeased to know what this religious told me concerning chemistry ; and he appeared to me not only to have learning but experience. He assured me there were in Paris alone several thousands of men that applied themselves to this exercise ; and that there were above four thousand authors who treat of this science : That King Geber was the most knowing and clearest in his expressions, and yet there are none but such as are real philosophers, and wholly bent to the study of nature, that can easily understand him. Whereunto he added, there were several people who laboured with great patience, but few with those qualifications which are necessary to find success ; he affirmed, that speculative knowledge is fruitless ; that one must have a long practice and continual exercise ; that most people labour to no purpose, because they do not take nature for their guide, no more than the operations she makes in minerals ; because, according to Geber, the principles of the art should be those of nature itself ; and that it is only in metals we can find metals ; and that it is, in fine, by metals one can succeed in the making of perfect metals.

This good dervise maintained, that the true way to proceed to the perfection of this great work, consists in the union of the mineral spirits purified by art, with the perfect metallic bodies, having first volatilized them and then fixed them, in conserving all the radical humidity,

and in augmenting the natural heat, by a discreet concoction of the composition which comes by this marvellous ferment, which makes all this mass boil, and puts it into a fermentation ; so that this marvellous composition, insinuating itself by penetration into the most subtle parts of the melted metal, by the external fire, and radically dissolving it, it ripens it, and purges it from whatever is not of the essence of gold and of mercury, till the whole be driven out to an entire perfection, which made the master of masters, the learned Geber, say, that this perfect elixir being the pure substance of metals, it seeks in the melted metals that which is of the same nature with itself, and perfects it.

Now, as it is impossible for the artist to produce any thing that is new according to his fancy, but only to join or separate what nature has produced, Raymund Lully would have us understand, that the body in this art is the metallic being, in which lies the mineral spirit, because the metals are nothing else but this spirit, of which consists the philosopher's stone ; and this spirit is properly the virtue of minerals, in which is contained the spring of metals. But the famous Geber has plainly showed that this stone is wholly created and formed by nature, to which the artist neither adds nor diminishes any thing, but only makes it change its place by his preparation, which in every other respect is useless.

This friar affirms, this mineral body, entirely spirituous as it is, has yet four sorts of superfluities, of which it must be purged by the hand of the artist, viz. a great humidity, the earth which is found therein, the ordinary sulphur which burns, and the salt which is corrosive ; and it must be purified by calcination, dissolution, sublimation, and fixation, that there may alone remain the radical humidity, fixed and permanent ; which being af-

terwards united in an indissoluble manner to the perfect body, composes this incomparable body, which is so much sought, and so seldom found, and which is an hot elixir, powerful to ripen and purify all imperfect metals, and convert them into gold or silver.

There is afterwards given an activity to the gold, in refining it by new degrees of fire, added to that which it already had.

Thus far went our conversation, when an old woman came unhappily upon us, and bereaved me of the satisfaction of learning of this religious some important secret which he seemed inclinable to intrust me with. This indiscreet and impertinent woman using the liberty ordinary with the people of this country, cruelly interrupted our conversation ; and I remained struck as it were with a flash of lightening, when this knowing friar told me, that the arrival of this woman forced him to take his leave of me ; and he appeared to be gone, like a man that was expected for some weighty affair ; when casting his eyes on my countenance, he perceived the perplexity and confusion which this separation caused in me ; and to comfort me, he said thus to me in my ear : “ I know very well, friend, thou hast an inquisitive soul, and designest great things ; meet me at my cell, and in the mean time I will tell thee for thy consolation in plain terms, that it always has been, and always shall be my opinion, that to labour profitably, one must follow Raymund Lully’s rules. This great philosopher affirms, and I am of his mind, that to make gold, one must have gold and mercury, and mercury and silver to make silver ; but I understand by mercury, that mineral spirit so refined and purified, that it aurifies the very seed of gold, and argentizes that of silver.” These are the very words he spake to me.

But in leaving me, I entreated him to tell me, whether it was easy to attain to the accomplishment of this great work ; and what was necessary for that great end ?

He answered me, it was very hard, which made almost all people despair of compassing it, there being very few people on whom Heaven bestowed the necessary qualifications to acquire this precious art ; that these qualifications consisted in being a true philosopher, and in being perfectly skilled in nature, in having a patience proof against all disappointments ; and that a man should be in the flower of his age, strong and vigorous to endure labour, well furnished with wealth, and indefatigable. Whereunto he added, that if any of these qualities were wanting, one might be certain that the others would be so also ; that a man who is unacquainted with nature, works like a blind man ; and that should one fail of success the first, second, third, fourth, nay, fifth or sixth time, in the operation, he is a fool that then grows weary, and does not again begin to set at work with the same earnestness and hopes of success ; and that should a man want a vigorous health, labour would weaken and make him faint ; and that, in fine, if one be without sufficient estate, it is impossible the work should succeed ; which demands an entire man, and such a one as minds nothing else.

This dervise, moreover, told me as a thing certain, that several persons had attained to the perfection of this undertaking, which employs so great a number of virtuoso's in all parts of the world ; for were it not so, there would not be that quantity of gold there is, for all that of the Indies was not sufficient to satisfy so many people, who mind nothing else but gaining of it ; and that, in fine, such great treasures which are heaped up, and the gold that runs in traffic, never came out of the mines which are in the mountains, but that a great part has

been made by artists. He, moreover, assured me, that the overseers of the mint in France affirmed, as a thing beyond all question, that there was more gold brought to them than ever came from foreign parts, which made him conclude that the art is true, and that no man need doubt that there is such a thing as the philosopher's stone.

This conversation, although interrupted, made me cease being incredulous ; and if I were an heretic in this matter yesterday, I begin now to have faith, and believe : Only it is a work extreme difficult ; and I do no longer wonder there are so many people who deceive others without any design of doing it ; and am not surpris'd they should apply themselves to all sorts of persons, not excepting princes ; for they believe still they shall meet with success ; and not being able to furnish the charges they must be at, they use all sorts of tricks to move those whom covetousness renders on this occasion very easy to be persuaded ; and all in general meet in their operations with great hunger, cold, labour, and smoke.

It seems as if that which hindered those who have been fortunate enough to attain the perfection of this work from communicating their knowledge in this matter, was the dread of their prince's power, as having oft experienced that they are jealous at the riches of a private person. Sovereigns cannot endure that a mean wretch, born amongst the dregs of the people, should have in his power wherewithal to make himself happy and several others, which obliges them to deprive these philosophers of the means of working, and makes them labour in secret, and conceal themselves with more care when they have finished their work. Great men cannot easily suffer private people to become masters by virtue of this art, and do all those wonders which by this mar-



vellous metal may be wrought in their closets without going to Peru, and ransacking there the bowels of the earth ; they know very well that this longed-for gold produces every thing ; gives reputation ; makes them follow one, who fled from a man before ; corrupts those who appear the most incorruptible ; opens the strongest doors ; overthrows whole armies ; causes a man to change his mind in a moment ; makes him that was a poor man presently talk sentences. Nay, many Christians affirm this metal to be so efficacious, that it draws the souls out of a doleful abode called Purgatory ; so that it seems as if it appeased God's wrath, and brings men to heaven.

These afore-mentioned reasons obliged the cruel Dioclesian to put to death as many chemists as could be found in Egypt, and at the same time to cause their books to be burnt, lest the people, who were naturally ingenious, being become too powerful by the art of making gold, should undertake a war against the Roman empire. But we find in the ancient writings of the Arabians, that Moses having learned of God himself the art of perfectly knowing nature, and that of the conversion of metals, and making gold, to write in letters formed of this metal the law he prescribed the Israelites : He taught it to Carun, a poor man, but his intimate friend and near kinsman ; who being become very rich by means of this science, had heaped up immense treasures, and built himself forty houses, which were filled with gold, but were all swallowed up, and buried in the earth by the virtue of Moses's rod, with the master of them, whom so great riches had rendered proud, and made him think of withdrawing himself from obeying this great servant of God, having falsely accused him before the people of divers crimes, and especially of having abused a virgin.

The last thing which was discovered in the Venetian territories, was a great urn found in an hollow cave. In this urn, which was considerably large, there was another less, and in it two pots, one full of gold reduced into liquor, and the other of silver of the same fashion, and a lamp which seemed to have burnt for many ages. It was known by the characters on this urn that they were consecrated to the god Pluto; and there were on them Latin verses which showed that Maximus Olibius had been the author of them. Those then who say this art is false, that the beginning of it is a lie, the middle of the work mere fatigue, and the end beggary, have not said true themselves; and yet one cannot accuse them as having not in some sort spoke the truth.

I beseech the Sovereign Creator of all things, from whom alone we hold what we know, as being the great and wise architect of nature, that he would bestow on thee the science of the learned Geber, that thou mayest be as rich as Solomon; but above all that he would grant thee the spirit of Aglaus, who was ever seen to live content.

Paris, 20th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1642.

XXI.—*To MEHEMET, an Eunuch Page to the Sultaneſs.*

THE adventure which thou relatedst happened in the ſeraglio, ſhows that women are expoſed to great accidents. Their condition is unhappy when they are handſome, but more when they are homely and deformed. The fathers, brethren, and huſbands, guard the former as Cerberus guarded the gates of hell; and the others guard themſelves, and look on all things with eyes of envy and diſcontent, which makes them empoiſon every thing. But

that which happens amongst us is very different from what is in France, where women enjoy a liberty almost equal to that of men. Not but that we see notable adventures happen there; witness the queen, who is mother to a great king, now reigning, and yet lives in exile, and as a fugitive amongst strangers, through the credit of Cardinal Richlieu, for whom she has not all the deference he expected. And an ancient lady (I may call her so now she does not hear me), told me such things some days past on this occasion, which I can scarce believe myself, did I not know them to be true from elsewhere.

I am farther told, that this cardinal, not having succeeded in the design he had of marrying his niece with a prince of the blood, intended (if he could) to marry her to the king's brother: But there is no great likelihood but so able a minister must see into the mischievous consequences into which this promotion would bring him; for it would undoubtedly draw on him the hatred of all the great people in the kingdom, and I would not be mentioned at Constantinople for the author of all the news talked of at Paris.

But it is certain this priest sent the chancellor, a venerable person, and by his office a man of great authority, to seize on this princess's papers, in hopes he might meet with some letter which might favour that design. The chancellor executed the order he had received, but found nothing of what the cardinal pretended; so that this persecution served only to manifest this princess's virtue, who lives in such a manner as may not only serve as an example to all queens, but all the women in the world.

Some time after, this same chancellor being come to compliment the queen on the birth of the dauphin, she told him in a composed manner, but very pleasantly, that

this visit was very different from that she had received from him about a year past.

If persons that are seated in the highest degrees be not secure from the bold attempts of those who are infinitely below them, and who are born to serve them; the beautiful Circassian should comfort herself in the misfortune she had of being accused. If her innocence be well proved, she will be the more pleasing to Ibrahim, and the false accusation laid against her will be a new charm to him; whereas should she be found guilty, we must grant she deserves the most dreadful punishments for having violated, if I may so express myself, the sacred nights of the seraglio.

However, the young Persian was found disguised in women's apparel in some of the neighbouring stables; and though he in the midst of the torments he suffered died without confessing any thing, yet it cannot be said he died innocent, after such an attempt.

I hope thou wilt inform me what has happened since thy last letter, and in what manner the adventure of this beautiful slave shall be ended: I shall be much troubled for her if she be innocent; and cannot be wholly free from compassion for her if she prove guilty.

Leave not off writing to me; and if it be possible be not weary of loving me. I speak in the presence of our holy Prophet, I love thee with the same affection as ever, and I dare not utter an untruth before him.

Paris, 20th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1642.

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## XXII.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

It is about sixty years since Don Sebastian, King of Portugal died in Afric, by the hands of the Moors, and yet his subjects will believe him still living.

He parted from Lisbon in the year 1578, in the design of re-establishing on his throne Muley Mehemet che-riff of Afric, whom his uncle Muley Abdelemelech would bereave of his kingdom ; but in effect, to endeavour at the making himself master of Barbary.

His army consisted of a thousand sail, well furnished with provisions, few soldiers, but a great many nobility. This prince was not above five-and-twenty years of age when he formed this enterprize : He was a strong bodied man, of a moderate stature, but well set ; his hair was yellow, his eyes great and full of fire ; his courage was not inferior to his strength, and he had no violent inclination to pleasures, which generally take men's minds off from gallant actions ; he was temperate in all things, yet very forward in undertakings, and always firm and im-moveable in greatest dangers. He was a great husband of his revenues ; employing them in his subjects defence, or to the increase of his own power. He was agreeable to all those that waited on him ; and in the freest conversations he took care not to disoblige any one by sharp raillery or distasteful sayings ; and so merciful was he, that he avoided all occasions of condemning his subjects to death. He passionately loved war ; but it is thought the expedition into Afric, wherein he perished, came from Spanish counsels.

D. Sebastian was killed, fighting with an invincible courage. The Moors say, that his enemies were so charmed with his courage, that his death drew tears from their eyes.

He was forsaken by his own ; mortally wounded near the right eye-brow ; and pierced with darts in several parts of his body. He had no wound in his head, because he was armed ; but he had a great one in his arm, which seemed to come from a musket-bullet. It is said



he was buried in the field, near a Moor, without any ceremony, prayers, or company of his relations or subjects. And this was the end of this great king, who made all Afric at first to tremble.

Although the Moors rejoiced at the death of so puissant an enemy, yet his friends bewailed his misfortune. The kingdom of Portugal celebrated his funeral in a magnificent manner, and the King of Spain proffered several thousand crowns for his body, to bury him in a manner answerable to the dignity of his birth and merit ; and four kings have since supplied his throne ; yet there was found a man bold enough to maintain in the face of all Italy, that he was really D. Sebastian, King of Portugal. He presented himself at Venice, in an assembly of the wisest magistrates in Europe ; and he recited to them the accidents of his life, the history of his predecessors, the misfortunes he met with in Afric, whence he retired into Calabria. He did more ; for he stripped himself before this illustrious assembly ; he showed them seventeen marks on his body, which were acknowledged, with astonishment, by the Portugueses themselves, to be, at least, very like those which they knew their sovereign had on his body ; and he also showed that he had one hand greater than the other, and a lip disproportionable in the same manner, which were the well known marks in the person of Don Sebastian. He talks of ambassadors which he sent to the republic ; he cites the answers he had received ; and all he says is found conformable to the truth. He answers without hesitation to all that is objected ; which makes several of the senate believe him to be really the king, and others take him for a witch.

But, in fine, this prince, right or wrong, is led away to prison, at the solicitation of the Spanish ambassador, where having long lain, he is set at liberty, under an

obligation to leave the Venetian countries in three days time.

Some Portuguese, moved with compassion, disguised him in a dervise's habit, and conducted him secretly to Florence, to transport him afterwards to Rome, but the Great Duke of Tuscany caused him to be apprehended, and sent him to the viceroy of Naples. He presented himself before him with his usual confidence, and surprised all that saw him and heard him speak; and seeing the viceroy uncovered, he said to him with great assurance and gravity, "Be covered, Count de Lemnos:" which obliged this minister to ask him, "By what authority he took on him this boldness?" To which he answered, "That his authority was born with him, and that he feigned not to know him; and yet he ought to remember that King Philip his uncle had sent him twice to him, and that the sword which he then wore by his side, was that which he then gave him."

The sentence which the viceroy gave of him was, that he was an impostor, who deserved to be sent to the galleys, and should not long be from them; and wherein, it is said, he died some time after.

Yet the Portugueses have been persuaded he was their real king, and do still continue of that opinion, there being nothing which is able to make them change it. Some persons in the world will have him to be a magician, others an impostor, and the most ignorant will have him to be a devil, or really the king himself.

This is not the first example of the boldness of an impostor. Rome saw heretofore a man that had the audaciousness to publish he was the real Pompey who was killed in Egypt by the cruelty of the young Ptolemy. The Queen Artemisa found one Artemius, who had so great a resemblance with Antiochus her husband, whom

she had caused to be murdered, that he was not known when he put himself into the bed of the dead king, pretending to be this prince sick; he recommended Artemisa to his subjects, and did several things in favour of this princess. Under the reign of Tiberius, was there not occasion to be surpris'd at the bold answer which a slave made to this emperor; who questioning him, how he made himself Agrippa, answered without hesitation, "In the same manner thou hast made thyself Cæsar."

The Don Sebastian I mentioned, has not been the only one in the world; there have been two others; one of which departing out of the Isle of Terceres, who had great resemblance with this prince, went into Portugal, where he said he had miraculously escaped from the battle he lost in Afric; that he saved himself in woods, and returned into his kingdom, to give peace to his people, and deliver them from the tyranny of strangers; but having been convicted of imposture, he was put to death.

It is said, that another being come disguised in the habit of a pilgrim, to Madrid itself, and having had a long and secret conference with King Philip II. (by whom it is suspected he was known for this unhappy prince), was by this king's order said to be poisoned in a banquet given him by Antonio Peres.

I shall write several things to the invincible visier, of which I deferred to give him notice, because I would be certain of them, they being of importance; and it would have been great lightness in me to have written them on the first reports spread amongst the people.

Receive always with the same goodness, the marks I give thee of my obedience; send me thy orders and counsels, which, I pray him that has created all things, may be good and profitable to the empire of those precious

ones, which he has enlightened with his truth ; to the end they may arrive at the eternal glory and pleasures promised, as from his part, by his holy Prophet ; and I also pray him to preserve thy life and authority.

Paris, 24th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1642.

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XXIII.—*To the Venerable MUFTI, Prince of the Religion of the Turks.*

IT is not known whether it be the recompense of a good or bad action, which Cardinal Richlieu has sent with so great secrecy. Those that give an ill interpretation to the best things, say it is not to be supposed there could be sent in a dark night, a mule laden with gold to an unknown person, but this must denote something very extraordinary ; and those who pretend to know more than others, are sometimes more ignorant than those who pretend to know nothing. For who can penetrate into what so crafty a minister does in the most retired places of his closet ? His actions are so mysterious, that when he looks towards the east, his designs lie a direct contrary way. He deceives those who watch him most narrowly. I cannot inform thee then of any thing certain : The matter is variously related ; but thus I think it was : The cardinal caused, some days past, to be loaded on a mule, a great sum of money ; he ordered him to whom he entrusted the conduct of him, to go into a wood at such an hour, telling him he should find a man of such a stature, such a coloured hair, and in such a habit, who was to say certain words to him ; whereupon he was to deliver the mule with his lading into his custody. It is said this person found the party described, who would not receive the present, it being not the full sum agreed

upon ; that this being related to the cardinal, he sent the same person with the supplement of what was wanting to the sum promised, the night following, where the unknown person received the full payment. If this story be true, as it is affirmed here to be, this is an odd kind of way of making presents or paying debts.

But thou mayest be assured, this is not the first time the cardinal has paid his creditors in this sort.

I have been told for certain, that there being arrived at Paris a stranger ill clad, of small stature, and without any attendance, he made him be paid down immediately upon his arrival six hundred thousand crowns, without any body's knowing what became of so happy a creditor, nor from what merit proceeded so high a recompense ; though some people affirm, that so great a sum is fallen into the coffers of the Swedish general.

Receive charitably the marks I give thee of my obedience and desire which I have of giving thee satisfaction, and entreat our great Prophet, that I may be worthy in the other world to kiss thy feet, and be acknowledged to be of the number of those for whom he has written his holy Alcoran.

Paris, 25th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1642.

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XXIV.—*To BERBER MUSTAPHA, Aga at Constantinople.*

I CANNOT tell whether thou hast knowledge of the use of defiance which are made amongst the Christians when they are dissatisfied or offended with one another, which they term acts of honour, or the marks of a gallant spirit.

This custom of duels is become so common in Italy, and especially in the kingdom of Naples, that the greatest



affairs, as well as the smallest, are therein decided by the sword ; and the gentry affirm this to be the best way of terminating their disputes and quarrels ; which belonging only to them, cannot be referred, nor so well determined by the grave and cool proceedings of courts of justice.

This invention of deciding these differences by arms, either with the sword or pistol alone, in a close or open field, naked in their shirts, so that one has no treachery to fear, is a way of drawing satisfaction for the injuries received, found out by men of great courage, who more esteem their honour than their lives. The offended person sends a challenge to him from whom he has received the injury ; this note of defiance is expressed in choice and elegant words which invite and press the offender to fight, in such a place, on horseback or on foot, clothed, or in their shirts, single, or attended by an equal number of friends, which they call seconds, with sword and dagger, or sword alone, or pistol. If the challenge be received, he is civilly treated who brings it, and it may be, has rich presents given him. But before they fight, the enemies embrace as if they were reconciled ; and then in an instant, following the inclinations of their hatred and revenge, they wound one another, they spill each other's blood, and oftentimes their souls go out furious, through the wounds they have made.

Those that have the honour of dying in these combats do oft refuse their lives, which a generous enemy would give them, believing they cannot live without shame, should they receive them from an enemy.

But the Roman church, as a note of the horror she conceives at these combats, shuts heaven's doors against the souls of those who leave this life without doing penance, denying burial to those who die in the field of battle, or yield them only that which is granted in some-

parts of the East Indies, to certain women who prostitute themselves, whose corps are thrown a prey to the birds of the field, and other animals who live on carrion.

It is not only in Italy people kill one another in single combats; it is the same in France amongst the nobility, who manage these combats in a different sort. The best friends tear one another on the smallest occasion, and they prepare for a duel in such a manner, as will appear to thee without doubt ridiculous.

These enemies sup together the night before the combat, and often lie together in the same bed. The friends which serve as seconds do the same; and when they are come to the place where they be to fight, a friend is forced, by the maxims of honour, to cut his own throat with the man's he perhaps most loves: Nothing happens more frequently in Paris than this kind of combats; and they produce several adventures, of which I would give thee an account, had not I a particular story to tell thee on this subject. It is of a challenge of a Spanish prince, sent to a king, whose crown could not exempt him from a letter of defiance.

Thou hast, without doubt, heard of what has happened in Lisbon, where Don John de Braganza has been elected and proclaimed King of Portugal, as the true heir of the royal race. Thou knowest also, he drove the Spaniards out of his kingdom. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, a grandee of Spain, and this new king's brother-in-law, could not hinder himself from being suspected of having underhand assisted this prince to ascend the throne; whether it be true, or an artifice of his enemies, God only knows: But however, it is certain, that the Count Duke d'Olivarez, the King of Spain's chief minister, sent an order to him to appear at court, to justify himself from this suspicion; he thought to clear himself perfectly from the

jealousies of the Catholic King, by sending a challenge to Don John of Braganza to oblige him to fight with him; which letter of defiance was conceived in these terms :

“ D. Gaspar Alonzo Peres Gusman the Good, Duke of the town of Medina Sidonia, marquis, count, and lord of the town of St. Lucar of Barameda, captain general of the ocean, and gentleman of his Catholic Majesty's chamber: I say, that John of Braganza, who was never but a duke, calls himself King of Portugal; that his treason, known to all the world, is detestable, and in abomination, for having thrown a stain on the faithful house of Gusman, which has never failed in any duty to her sovereign; and for this reason I defy and challenge to a single combat, body to body, with seconds or without seconds, this Don John, heretofore Duke of Braganza, leaving all this to his choice, as also the arms or weapons, and place of combat. Written near Valencia d'Alcantara, where I shall expect fourscore days news of him; and the last twenty days I shall transport myself into the place he shall appoint, accompanied, or alone, with such arms as he shall prescribe.

“ Not only the tyrant of Portugal shall be advertised of my challenge, but all Europe and the whole world. I pretend to make known in this combat the infamous action of Don John; and in case he does not accept of this defiance, and fails in the duty of one who is born a gentleman, I desire this king, who is only a phantasm, may perish in some sort or other: I promise to give my town of St. Lucar, the principal seat of the Duke of Medina, to him that shall kill him.

“ In the mean-time, I entreat my lord, the King of Spain, to give me no command in his armies, but to grant I may only serve him as a volunteer, with a thousand horse, which I will maintain at my own charge, till

that serving him in this manner I may help to recover the kingdom of Portugal, and may bring along with me, and cast at his Majesty's feet, the Duke of Braganza, if he will not fight with me in the manner I proposed."

If thou shoudest this letter of defiance to the janizaries, that militia, which is terrible to all nations, whom nothing can resist, when they execute the Grand Signior's orders, they will tell thee what such a challenge requires from men of courage, and explain to thee the laws which people of valour prescribe to themselves. For my part, who am ignorant of the art of war, and the maxims of such as make profession of arms, I shall not make any judgment hereupon, only take the liberty to ask of thee, if the King of Portugal accepted the combat and killed the Duke of Medina, which of the two would have been declared infamous? Whether there be any certainty in the decisions made by arms? I am willing to think justice is on the side of the conqueror; but if, on the contrary, the event of the duel be uncertain, I take it to be a foolish thing for the duke to expose himself, and thus affront the king his brother-in-law. In short the duke's prudence is not to be admired on this occasion; and Braganza has had the advantage on his side, seeing he has showed by his conduct, that he is effectually King of Portugal.

I cannot but call these Christians fools who suffer such customs amongst them, and yet adore a Messias, who is a God of Peace; and who call us Barbarians, when they are the only people that teach us, and all other nations, the art of single combats, which is the most pernicious custom that can be introduced amongst men, who cut one another's throats oftentimes on slight occasions, and become prodigals of that treasure with which the Im-

mortal has entrusted them. Neither can I any more approve of kings and princes of the same belief making war with one another, as we see every day amongst those who profess the Christian religion; which yet, as far as I can find, scarcely permits any wars, but such as are defensive.

Pardon this tedious letter, excuse my conjectures in it, and honour me with thy commands, which will be respected by me as so many obligations.

Paris, 25th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1642.

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XXV.—*To the Invincible VISIER AZEM, at Constantinople.*

WE hear of nothing now-a-days but wars and conspiracies, seditions, treasons, infidelities, and revolutions of state; and it is in the kingdoms of Vice wherein these plagues of Heaven make these disorders, I mean in the Christians countries. Infidelity reigns amongst the people of Catalonia, England and Portugal; the revolutions which have happened in Barcelona have no example; the defiance or the challenge of a subject to a king, as is that of the Duke of Sidonia to the King of Portugal, as his brother-in-law and his enemy, does equally surprise all the world. We have reason to think that God is angry with the Christians, when we consider Flanders, Germany, Italy, and the frontiers of Spain, pestered with wars which they make one against another. The animosity of most of the great people of France against the cardinal favourite, induces them to lay plots against his life; whence we may see, that great places are good for nothing but to expose men to great dangers. The last conspiracy discovered against the life of Don John IV. of Portugal, raised to the throne by the nobility, and



betrayed by the same nobility, not by the whole body of them, but by a small number of those who had taken an oath of fidelity to him as well as the rest, does plainly show, that there is nothing in this world whereon a man may rely with any certainty, and that here are many people who undertake just actions by the motions of an unjust and turbulent spirit, which cannot suffer things to remain long in a quiet state, and aspire continually after change, and to whom every thing is good that is new. I shall relate to thee in few words this last event. Thou hast been informed of the others by the letters I have written to thee (invincible General of the Ottoman armies, and steward of the emperor's laws, who is sovereign of sovereigns), and by those which the Kaimacham and the Bassa's have received from me, who are obliged to give thee an account of whatever comes to their knowledge.

Several of the great ones in Portugal, and amongst them some of the new king's kindred, hatched a conspiracy against him, and resolved to put the kingdom again into the Spaniards hands, and entirely ruin the family of Braganza. The principal author of this conspiracy was Don Sebastian de Mattos, Archbishop of Brague, the Count Duke d'Olivarez's creature, to whom he owed his fortune. The chiefs who conspired with this seditious priest, were the Marquis de Ville Reale, and the Count d'Armamar. These two men, of great birth and credit, soon drew several others into their party, some by the hope of recompenses, and others through weariness of obeying their new sovereign, or weary with the new form of state, which they thought might change to their advantage. They long held a secret intelligence with the Catholic King's council, who promised them all possible

assistance for the execution of their design, and after that infinite recompenses.

This conspiracy was to produce a dreadful tragedy, wherein all the blood of the royal house and family of Braganza was to be spilt. The king was to be the first victim, with his children and the queen his wife. D. Duarte also was to be put to death, who was kept close prisoner in the castle of Milan. A domestic, affectionate to his master, and who was attentive to what passed, delivered the king and family of Braganza out of this danger. He was ordinarily employed in secret intrigues, and made frequent courses into Spain, to discover the designs of the Court of Madrid. He met by chance in an inn, a man who seemed of a mean condition, born in the kingdom of Bohemia, with whom having entered into a strict friendship, as it happens usually among travellers, he came to discover he was often dispatched by the Catholic king's principal minister on affairs of great weight; and that he expected in a short time to raise his fortune to a considerable pitch, being entrusted with packets of letters containing things of the highest importance to the state. The crafty Portuguese soon discerning he might get out secrets of great concernment from this imprudent man, for the good of his master, resolved to kill him in a desert place, where they were to pass; which he did, having first made him drunk with strong wine. As soon as he had done his work, he stripped him, and found letters and instructions to the conspirators, which he speedily carried to Don John, who thereby discovered the whole conspiracy.

Others say, that D. Alphonso of Portugal, Count de Vermiffa (having been solicited by the Archbishop of Brague, who thought he could easily bring him into the conspiracy, being discontented at the king for taking a-

way from him a great office), went to his sovereign, and freely discovered to him the conspiracy which had been made, to deprive him both of his crown and life. And, it is added, that this Count appeared since one of the hottest of the accomplices, till the very instant wherein they were to execute their project; at which time they were apprehended and punished as they deserved.

Others say, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the king's brother-in-law, who appeared to the accomplices to be of the plot, gave notice of it to the king his brother. In fine, the conspirators were executed in several places after different manners, where the people assembled, detesting their crime, showing great satisfaction in their deaths, and blest Heaven for preserving their sovereign.

They were apprehended one day, wherein the king declared he would appear in public; and all the nobility being met, he caused the guilty to be called one after another, who were all made prisoners without any disturbance. In the mean time, as many troops as were near Lisbon were in arms; and the people also took arms to defend their prince, if need required. The inquisitor-general was treated as guilty, for knowing of the conspiracy and not discovering it. The great treasurer, Lawrence Pides, who kept the keys of the first court of the palace, was to enter in the night with an hundred men well armed, and begin the tragedy. The naval army which rode at anchor in the port of Belem, was to be burnt; and there were them in each vessel, who were to set them on fire. The four corners of the city were also to be fired, to the end that the people, the soldiers and guards of the palace, being busied in putting it out, nothing might hinder the execution of their design; and the good archbishop was in the mean time to appear in public, bearing about in his hand what they call the holy

sacrament, crying with a loud voice, " Let the law of Jesus flourish, and that of Moses die and come to an end."

The Marquis de Ville Reale, and the Duke de Camine his son, near of kin to the king, have lost their heads on a scaffold, with the Count d'Armamar and Don Augustin Manuel ; and the people beheld their death without any compassion, only showed some regret at the loss of the young Duke of Camine, who passing before the body of his father all bloody, threw himself on the ground to kiss his feet, asking him a thousand times pardon, though he was the author of this misfortune. There were others who suffered a more ignominious death, who were not only hanged but quartered, and those parts of their bodies set up in several places for an example, and to put the people in mind that such attempts seldom escape unpunished.

As to the Archbishop of Brague, and other ecclesiastics his accomplices, they are kept with great care in prisons, in expectation of commissioners from Rome, without which prelate's consent they can do nothing farther to them. The king wore mourning four hours for the Marquis de Ville Reale, and the Duke de Camine his son, according to the custom of the Christians, who are wont to apparel themselves in black for the death of their kindred, to denote the sorrow they conceive at their loss ; and this ceremony is termed mourning, which sometimes lasts a whole year. I will write to thee the particulars of what may happen in the war which is now carrying on between the Spaniards and Portugueses, who perceive already on their frontiers Castilian troops ; and shall not be wanting in any thing which may mark my zeal and exactness.

An happy slave will Mahmut think himself if he can acceptably serve the invincible visier, by whom the great emperor of the faithful discovers his will to all the people of the universe, whom God has created to obey him.

Paris, 25th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1642.

END OF VOLUME FIRST

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